HISTORY, PROPHECY

AND

THE MONUMENTS

OR

ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS

BY

JAMES FREDERICK McCURDY, PH.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO

VOLUME II

TO THE FALL OF NINEVEH

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.
1896

All rights reserved

PREFACE

A WORD of explanation is due to those who have read the preface to the first of these volumes. It was there stated that a second volume would complete the work. It soon appeared, however, that it was impossible to deal fairly, much less adequately, under the proposed limitation, with the topics which claimed attention. Above all, the inner history of Israel seemed to demand fresh and thorough treatment. Thus it has resulted, that instead of the single chapter in which I had intended to sketch the governmental, social, and moral progress of the Hebrew people, the whole of Book VII has been devoted to this fascinating theme. The complement thereof, the development of the ancient Hebrew literature, is a subject equally weighty and urgent. But it will, I think, be admitted that it cannot be intelligently and profitably taken up until Israel's career as a nation has been followed to its conclusion. Its direct discussion has, therefore, been relegated to the third and concluding volume.

No apology is needed for the length to which Book VII has been allowed to run. The outward events of the history of Israel, mainly recorded in their own annals, are easily recapitulated. Not so obvious, however, and still more important, are the inner life and movement, of which these events are the expression or the occasion. We do not half understand, we do not even really know, the achievements of any people, unless we have learned in some measure how and why they have done what they did. The task of the historian of Israel is, therefore, not complete when he has shown, by the aid of contemporary monuments, how the narrative of the native chroniclers may be supplemented and elucidated. He needs to trace the rise, direction, and issue of the hidden cur-

PREFACE

A WORD of explanation is due to those who have read the preface to the first of these volumes. It was there stated that a second volume would complete the work. It soon appeared, however, that it was impossible to deal fairly, much less adequately, under the proposed limitation, with the topics which claimed attention. Above all, the inner history of Israel seemed to demand fresh and thorough treatment. Thus it has resulted, that instead of the single chapter in which I had intended to sketch the governmental, social, and moral progress of the Hebrew people, the whole of Book VII has been devoted to this fascinating theme. The complement thereof, the development of the ancient Hebrew literature, is a subject equally weighty and urgent. But it will, I think, be admitted that it cannot be intelligently and profitably taken up until Israel's career as a nation has been followed to its conclusion. Its direct discussion has, therefore, been relegated to the third and concluding volume.

No apology is needed for the length to which Book VII has been allowed to run. The outward events of the history of Israel, mainly recorded in their own annals, are easily recapitulated. Not so obvious, however, and still more important, are the inner life and movement, of which these events are the expression or the occasion. We do not half understand, we do not even really know, the achievements of any people, unless we have learned in some measure how and why they have done what they did. The task of the historian of Israel is, therefore, not complete when he has shown, by the aid of contemporary monuments, how the narrative of the native chroniclers may be supplemented and elucidated. He needs to trace the rise, direction, and issue of the hidden cur-

rents of the national life. Accordingly, I have laboured to make as clear and real as possible the growth of the Hebrew community, the distinctive character of its social and domestic institutions, its political evolution, its progress in the interdependent spheres of society, morals, and religion.

Another motive, also, has induced me to elaborate this earlier half of the volume. Perhaps the greatest present need of the many earnest students of the Old Testament is a consistent and rational conception of the conditions under which the word of Revelation came to the people into whose moral and spiritual life it was interfused. The "higher criticism" must abdicate the seat of popular authority unless it obviously rests upon a broad and sure foundation. Chief and foremost among its necessary preliminaries are the conclusions of philological and historical science. A sound philology appreciates the Hebrew literature in itself, as well as in its place among the other Semitic literatures. By the aid of historical insight and perspective, the career of the Hebrew people may be viewed as an orderly process, based upon a living principle of growth and development. Thus we may, in a very real sense, adjust the people to their literature, their long-vanished national life to their imperishable memorials. That this has been as yet so imperfectly done is perhaps largely due to the fact that it has not been hitherto systematically attempted. It is easy to be hypercritical; and yet it seems reasonable to ask that there should be some recognized method of procedure among Biblical critics and historians, resting on principles that are valid in any wide field of historical and literary criticism. Bible readers are at present notoriously bewildered and discouraged by the elasticity of current critical schemes and the diversity of their results. Those who turn away from the rigid presuppositions of traditionalism are equally disappointed at the prevalent passion for an unlimited dissection of the sacred books which excites distrust by its narrow inductions. It is true that upon any theory of Hebrew literary composition some important questions of date and authorship will always remain unanswered. But many that are still unsettled are surely capable of solution by the consenting verdict of competent men. These, however, are not matters that concern

the learned few alone. It will be a blessed day for Biblical study when the way has been made clear for every inquirer to become a competent critic. Meanwhile, the average student is in need of practical direction. I venture to suggest that, first of all, he gain a clear conception of the several stages of the political and social, intellectual and moral, development of the Hebrew people. Then let him familiarize himself thoroughly with their distinctive modes of thought and expression, their conceptions of the world and human life, their views and estimates of national and individual history, and, above all, of moral and religious duty and obligation. Finally, let him, on the basis of his own inquiries, take note how the various species and sections of the Hebrew literature fit into the external conditions, and illustrate the internal qualities and attributes, thus observed to be characteristic of Israel as a race, a nation, and a social organism.

It is scarcely necessary to add a word as to the more strictly narrative portion of the volume. The plan is here still pursued of making the history of the leading nations of Western Asia illustrate in general the fortunes of the Semitic peoples, and in particular the career and fate of Israel. There is, perhaps, not so much that is novel as was furnished in the first volume. But the interest of the story should increase as the events related become more implicated with the larger movements which have drawn after them the main current of the world's history.

The first volume was generously received by all classes of critics. I trust that the third edition, which appears concurrently with the present volume, will show that it has profited by the good will and good counsel of reviewers. I regret extremely that it is not feasible to furnish an index until the conclusion of the work has been reached. Meanwhile, the table of contents has again been made as full and descriptive as possible.

J. F. McCURDY.

University College, Toronto,
May 23, 1896.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II

Book VII

INNER DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAEL

CHAPTER I

Retrospect and Prospect. § 365–390. P. 1–29

§ 365. Early historical movements of the Semites — § 366. Babylonian aims and enterprise and the West-land — § 367. Egyptians and Babylonians in Palestine and Syria — § 368. Aramæans on this side the Euphrates — § 369. The Hebrew occupation of Palestine, its motive and process — § 370. Progress and perils of the early settlement — § 371. The Kingdom; the rise of Southern Israel — § 372. Elements of discord; the disruption — § 373. Israel never really a complete unit; religion the strongest unifying force — § 374. Early disabilities of the Northern Kingdom — § 375. Slow development of the institution of monarchy — § 376. The dynasty of Omri and the Aramæans of Damascus — § 377. Religious policy of this dynasty; moral and political consequences; intervention of the Prophets — § 378. Prevailing friendship between the two kingdoms mainly due to a common religion — § 379. Subordinate rôle of Judah; its chances of political aggrandizement — § 380. Dynasty of Jehu in Northern Israel; conflicts with Aramæans; vassalage to the Assyrians; rise of Judah and last revival of Israel — § 381. The Prophets elucidate the politics and morals of their time and people — § 382. Great movements of the eighth century, B.C.; Prophecy and the new Assyrian empire — § 383. The ruin of Damascus; the vassalage of Judah — § 384. Relations of Western states to Assyria; fall of Samaria — § 385. General results of the summary; need of a deeper insight into the causes — § 386. A special canon of historical proportion to be applied to the career of Israel — § 387. Illustrations from the historical standpoint just reached — § 388. Value of the study as a whole; our right attitude towards the people and their age — § 389. Importance of judging by right moral standards — § 390. What the true historical spirit involves

CHAPTER II

ELEMENTS AND CHARACTER OF HEBREW SOCIETY. § 391–433. P. 30–77

§ 391. Necessity of an accurate knowledge of the distinctive processes of the social life of Israel — § 392. Readiness with which the Hebrew language, literature, and institutions may be apprehended — § 393. Yet the terms which denote these institutions have individuality of their own — § 394. Vast range of the significance of such terms both literal and figurative — § 395. Analogies with the institutions of remoter and kindred nations — § 396. Terminology of Hebrew social institutions — § 397. Religious bonds of the clan and the tribe — § 398. Relations to outsiders — § 399. Influences of tribal conceptions on the life and thought of Israel — § 400. The tribe and the clan; the clan the fundamental political unit — § 401. Its mutability and permanence — § 402. Essential features of clan-life — § 403. Why and how it was perpetuated — § 404. The household and the family; the clan and the family group — § 405. Constituents of the household: the house-father, wife, children, slaves — § 406. Status of servants — § 407. Significance of servitude in literature and religion — § 408. The house-father — § 409. *Patria potestas* among the Romans — § 410. The institution among other peoples — § 411. Not a question of primeval conditions — § 412. The Hebrew house-father in patriarchal times — § 413. Particular illustrations of the subjection of wives and children — § 414. Relations of Jacob and his sons — § 415. Conditions in subsequent times — § 416. The Rechabites — § 417. Status of wives and mothers according to specific laws and customs — § 418. The character of the marital relation — § 419. Conditions of marriage and divorce — § 420. Gradual emancipation of women in spite of prescription — § 421. Parallel from Roman history — § 422. Appreciation of women among other Semites — § 423. Their function as rulers — § 424. Influence of polygamy and nomadic life on the status of women — § 425. The transition to settled life; effect of the acquisition of fixed property — § 426. The wifely relation in literature and religion — § 427. Relations of parents and children; the status of daughters — § 428. The positions of sons; primogeniture — § 429. The first-born in literature and religion — § 430. Practical and essential meaning of fatherhood and motherhood — § 431. Early conceptions of fatherhood and their outcome in paternalism; illustrations from China and Japan — § 432. Fatherhood and sonship in literature and religion; development of the personal relation — § 433. Old and New Testament conceptions of the paternal relation

CHAPTER III

THE HEBREWS AS NOMADS AND SEMI-NOMADS. § 434–464. P. 78–105

§ 434. Underlying forces, material and moral, of Hebrew nationality — § 435. Meagreness of Biblical data to be explained from the Hebrew historical and literary canons — § 436. Survival of oppression in Egypt

— § 437. Disintegrating forces — § 438. Relations with the Egyptian people and rulers — § 439. Antipathy and distrust — § 440. Occasions of enslavement — § 441. The survival indicates their organization and their numbers — § 442. Their steadfast religious habits — § 443. Intimate connection with the previous patriarchal era — § 444. Consideration of difficulties in the story of the Patriarchs — § 445. Need of a large interpretation — § 446. Light upon the problem from literary considerations — § 447. Personal leadership necessary in the primitive stage — § 448. Change with the formation of clans — § 449. A new epoch; in what sense it may be called "Mosaic" — § 450. How the presidency of Moses answered to the immediate needs of his people — § 451. Means devised to secure unity of sentiment and corporate unity — § 452. Unfavourable conditions — § 453. The "mixed multitude" — § 454. Favouring circumstances — § 455. Character of the first attempt to regulate the administration of justice — § 456. Important aspects of the new constitution — § 457. How it was not a matter of direct revelation — § 458. Necessity of this new and higher type of administration — § 459. Only the beginnings of administrative reform were now possible — § 460. The old tribal system not speedily discarded — § 461. Wide significance of the new movement — § 462. Inner connection between the new judicial system and the legislation of Sinai — § 463. Indications that both movements looked mainly to the future of the nation — § 464. The application of the Law comes later

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT IN CANAAN. § 465–510. P. 106–143

§ 465. The transition period was very long; late survivals of nomadic manners — § 466. The light which they throw on Israel's past — § 467. The establishment of the monarchy is the dividing point between the new and the old — § 468. Inward necessity therefor in the constitution of society — § 469. Data for the period of the settlement in Canaan — § 470. Condition of the Hebrews at their entrance into Palestine — § 471. Prevalence of a patriotic and religious sentiment — § 472. Reasonableness of the Biblical theory of the invasion — § 473. Special considerations in its favour — § 474. The "Book of the Covenant" attests a semi-pastoral stage of culture: no mention of cities — § 475. Prominence of tillage, cattle, and other indications — § 476. The same features marked throughout the period of the Judges — § 477. Life in large cities unknown till the kingly era — § 478. Summary of conditions till the time of Deborah and Barak — § 479. Character of the struggles with the Canaanites — § 480. A critical epoch: breaking up of the tribal brotherhood — § 481. Relaxing of the religious bond — § 482. Effect of city manners — § 483. The transition to city life — § 484. The new Hebrew city and its occupations — § 485. Radical changes brought about by civic life — § 486. Administration of justice; the "elders" — § 487. The local "judges" — § 488. Judicial functions

of priests and prophets — § 489. Religious gatherings and central courts — § 490. Decline and failure of the central resorts — § 491. The fall of Shiloh marks a second epoch — § 492. Effects of the assaults of national enemies — § 493. Era of friendship with the Canaanites — § 494. Religious compromises — § 495. *Rationale* of the process — § 496. Summary of the occasions of social and political changes — § 497. Influence of religion in the recasting of Hebrew society — § 498. Religion dominant in the founding of cities — § 499. Religious festivals a controlling social force — § 500. They gradually lost political significance — § 501. Industrial and economical advantages of the growth of cities — § 502. The relaxing of tribalism necessary for the administration of justice — § 503. An Israelite of the time — § 504. His public and social worship — § 505. Domestic religion — § 506. Its crudeness and imperfections — § 507. Management of his estate; treatment and condition of the servants — § 508. Employments of the day — § 509. The sphere of the house-mistress — § 510. His public duties: their multiplicity and difficulty

CHAPTER V

The Monarchy. § 511–538. P. 144–167

§ 511. Lines of development: military and governmental — § 512. Limitations of the military spirit among the Hebrews — § 513. Growth of a militia — § 514. Changes in weapons and armour — § 515. National and personal conditions of the establishment of a permanent military system — § 516. First stage: an irregular militia — § 517. Second stage: beginnings of the standing army under King Saul — § 518. The third stage begins with David's body-guard — § 519. Deficiency in horses and chariots — § 520. Disadvantages of a body of mercenaries — § 521. The first three kings represent distinct stages in the monarchy; Saul's government transitional — § 522. David's court officials — § 523. His policy and his faults as a king — § 524. Land and people abused by Solomon — § 525. A sound united nation now an impossibility — § 526. Results of the monarchy at the death of Solomon; gains and losses — § 527. Political disabilities of the Northern Kingdom — § 528. Its discontent largely due to governmental neglect — § 529. Its lack of political development — § 530. Formation of administrative divisions — § 531. The "provinces" and the "princes" — § 532. Political and moral issues are now more clearly presented — § 533. They are determined by the leaders of society, the nobles and rulers — § 534. Absolutism in Israel — § 535. The kings and the priests and prophets — § 536. The kings and the local rulers and nobles — § 537. Influence of the leading men in making and unmaking kings — § 538. Freedom of action of the local magnates explained

CHAPTER VI

Society, Morals, and Religion. § 539–619. P. 168–236

§ 539. Grades of society: primary distinction between master and slave — § 540. Slaves increased from the ranks of captives and tributaries — § 541. Also from the debtor and impoverished classes — § 542. Legal provisions for the protection of slaves — § 543. Unique position of Israel in this regard — § 544. Benefits conferred by slavery; it was a means of assimilating vassals to Israel — § 545. The protection it afforded to the unfortunate and persecuted — § 546. It developed in Israel the philanthropic temper — § 547. The lessons learned by Israel from its own history — § 548. Policy of Israel towards "strangers"; definition of the *gēr* — § 549. The foreigner, the temporary "guest," the "sojourner," and the naturalized citizen — § 550. Adoption of outsiders in early and later history — § 551. Large and speedy incorporation accounted for — § 552. Favourable conditions for application — § 553. The adoption of outsiders idealized in Prophecy — § 554. The same theme unfolded in the Psalms — § 555. Destructive forces in Israel — § 556. Foes without less noxious than evils within — § 557. The decline and fall the result of inherent tendencies and characteristics of the nation — § 558. Israel's unique prerogative of morality its only possible salvation — § 559. The influential classes in Israel summarized — § 560. Primitive social equality — § 561. It was but little disturbed at first after the occupation — § 562. New elements of the population which gave shape and bias to the social life of Israel in Canaan — § 563. New prerogatives of the military leaders tending to permanence of authority. — § 564. Distribution of territory and the régime of "judges" — § 565. The decisive matter was the possession of land — § 566. Provision for freemen — § 567. Provision for slaves and clients — § 568. Aggrandizement of leading families through these dependents — § 569. Settled life favours the hereditary tenure of offices — § 570. Instances in Israel — § 571. Development of an aristocratic class — § 572. Impoverishment of the masses — § 573. Relative proportion of rich and poor — § 574. Moral causes widened the chasm — § 575. Employment of capital and the chances of the poor — § 576. Remedial statutes against usury and mendicancy — § 577. Neighbourliness in the olden time — § 578. Social abuses under the monarchy — § 579. Classes of social wrongs in the literature of the people — § 580. Land was held from Jehovah — § 581. Hence the wrong done in expropriation — § 582. Parallel to the case of the unfortunate and destitute — § 583. Testimony as to the spoliation of fixed property — § 584. Steps towards impoverishment; the giving of security — § 585. The debtor liable to be sold into slavery — § 586. How were such oppressions and exactions possible in a state like Israel? — § 587. The influential classes were responsible for the evil — § 588. Want of independent tribunals: the priests as "judges" — § 589. Testimony as to the judicial conduct of the priests —

§ 590. Appeal to "judges"; character of their jurisdiction — § 591. Lack of gradation and organization in the order of judges — § 592. The injurious results of governmental and popular indifference — § 593. Sweeping condemnation of the practice of justice in Israel — § 594. Prevalence and virulence of bribery and corruption in Eastern lands — § 595. Instances from the several departments of the Hebrew literature — § 596. Concomitant and auxiliary vices — § 597. Universality and magnitude of the "social question" in Hebrew life and literature — § 598. How social disorders are characterized in the Psalms — § 599. Job as supplementing the Psalms — § 600. The Psalms as contrasted with Job, Proverbs, and the Prophets — § 601. Significant positions assumed or maintained in the Psalms and Proverbs — § 602. Necessary connection between social phenomena and the religion of Jehovah — § 603. Aspirations after a reforming king — § 604. Sociological basis of the Messianic conception — § 605. Inferences as to the date of the Psalms of "the poor" — § 606. Confirmation from the historical and prophetical writings — § 607. Effects of the struggle in the development of the religious life — § 608. Consequence of the political and social isolation of the poor — § 609. Effects of personal trial on character and opinion — § 610. Bonds uniting our modern sociological problems with those of ancient Israel — § 611. Place of Old Testament teaching in the evolution of human society — § 612. Altruism a product of the Old Testament religion — § 613. Leading features of this moral and social evolution — § 614. We should learn how the Old and the New Testament are related — § 615. How the New Testament is rooted in the Old — § 616. How the new spirit and teaching are an historical continuation of the old — § 617. How Jesus relieved ancient society of its disabilities — § 618. The new motive of his personality and character — § 619. "This is the Law and the Prophets"

Book VIII

HEBREWS, EGYPTIANS, AND ASSYRIANS

CHAPTER I

Assyrian Extension under Sargon. § 620–633. P. 237–247

§ 620. Varied character of Assyrian military operations; rapid shifting of the scenes of warfare — § 621. Merodach-baladan the Chaldæan and his allies — § 622. Parallel between the West-land and Babylonia, and between Egypt and Elam — § 623. Temporary successes of the Chaldæan leader — § 624. Subjection of Hamath and its allies — § 625. Submission of Gaza, in spite of Egyptian support — § 626. Combinations in the northwest and in the northeast — § 627. The Moschæans and the Armenians

— § 628. Carchemish involved with the northwestern insurgents; its siege and capture — § 629. Heroism and failure of an Armenian king; the northwestern region gradually coerced — § 630. Conquest and tribute of North Arabian tribes; effect upon Egypt — § 631. Revolt of Ashdod significant of general disaffection — § 632. Capture of Ashdod and Gath — § 633. Parties to the conspiracy; Judah not attacked by Sargon

CHAPTER II

Ahaz and the Assyrian Policy. § 634-648. P. 248-257

§ 634. Review of affairs in Judah from the fall of Samaria — § 635. Important chronological questions — § 636. Relative value of the data — § 637. Date of the embassy from Babylon — § 638. Probable time of Hezekiah's accession — § 639. Motives of religious changes — § 640. Serious innovations under Ahaz, due to the influence of Assyria — § 641. Isaiah's picture of moral corruption, ch. xxviii. — § 642. Contrast with the religious and moral ideal — § 643. Proofs of degeneracy — § 644. Isaiah supplemented by Micah, ch. i-iii. — § 645. Micah's view of the threatened dangers — § 646. Isaiah's symbols of chastisement by the Assyrians — § 647. Rebuke of the expectation of Jehovah's help — § 648. Judah secure from molestation during the reign of Ahaz

CHAPTER III

The New Policy under Hezekiah. § 649-659. P. 258-265

§ 649. Hezekiah, his character and disposition — § 650. His relations with Assyria — § 651. Religious and political revivals — § 652. The independence party and Egypt — § 653. The earlier years of Hezekiah's reign a time of intrigue — § 654. Isaiah's attitude towards the movement — § 655. Isa. xviii. and its wide outlook — § 656. Isa. xix. . Egypt to be subverted by Assyria — § 657. A distant vision of peace and reconciliation — § 658. Isa. xx.: a symbol of the helplessness and humiliation of Egypt — § 659. Temporary influence of the Prophet's appeals

CHAPTER IV

Sargon and Merodach-baladan. § 660-668. P. 266-271

§ 660. The situation in Babylonia — § 661. Final campaign of Sargon against the Chaldæans and their allies — § 662. Retreat of the Chaldæans — § 663. Occupation of Babylon — § 664. Blockade, defeat, and flight of Merodach-baladan — § 665. Policy of Sargon in Babylon — § 666. Extension and security of the empire — § 667. Sargon as a city and palace builder — § 668. His death, in 705 B.C., by assassination

CHAPTER V

SINACHERIB AND MERODACH-BALADAN. § 669–674. P. 272–275

§ 669. Accession of Sinacherib; his character — § 670. Change of policy in Babylonia — § 671. Reappearance of Merodach-baladan — § 672. His final defeat and exile — § 673. Resettlement of Babylonian affairs — § 674. Subjugation of eastern mountaineers

CHAPTER VI

SINACHERIB, HEZEKIAH, AND ISAIAH. § 675–732. P. 276–321

§ 675. Official Assyrian record of the expedition of 701 B.C. — § 676. Character of the parallel accounts — § 677. The interested parties in Palestine — § 678. Attitude and action of Egypt — § 679. The part played by Merodach-baladan — § 680. Invasion of Phœnicia — § 681. An account by Josephus — § 682. How it is to be harmonized with the Assyrian record — § 683. Valour and fortitude of the Tyrians — § 684. The plan of operations adopted by the invaders — § 685. The lines of march — § 686. Judah outside of Jerusalem desolated — § 687. Prophetic allusion to the invasion — § 688. Submission of Hezekiah, and its price — § 689. The Philistian cities — § 690. Centres of attack: importance of Lachish — § 691. Capture of Askalon — § 692. Revolution in Ekron and its significance — § 693. Intervention of the Egyptians — § 694. Their disastrous defeat — § 695. Capture of minor towns and of Ekron — § 696. Jerusalem again menaced — § 697. Parties and events within the city — § 698. Preparations for defence — § 699. Assyrian officers before Jerusalem — § 700. Speech of the legate — § 701. Specious appeals to the populace — § 702. Hezekiah's appeal to Isaiah, and the Prophet's reply — § 703. Further Assyrian successes; a second demand for surrender — § 704. Disaster to the Assyrians — § 705. Account of Herodotus — § 706. Some explanations — § 707. Character and extent of the infliction — § 708. The scene of the catastrophe — § 709. Connected summary of the later events — § 710. Isaiah's rôle in these occurrences — § 711. A striking series of prophecies — § 712. Isa. xxix. 1–9: The siege and the relief — § 713. Isa. xxix. 10–16: Stupidity and perversity of the leaders of the people — § 714. Isa. xxix. 17–24: The coming moral transformation — § 715. Isa. xxx. 1–7: The futile embassy to Egypt — § 716. Isa. xxx. 8–17: The consequences of defying and ignoring Jehovah — § 717. Isa. xxx. 18–26: The returning blessings that result from misfortune — § 718. Isa. xxx. 27–33: The doom of the Assyrians as prepared by Jehovah — § 719. Isa. xxxi.: Jehovah's protection illustrated — § 720. Isa. xxxii. 1–8: The righteous king and his subjects — § 721. Isa. xxxii. 9–20: Frivolous women and what they suggested — § 722. Place of the remaining prophecies of this era — § 723. Isa. x. 5 ff.: The key to Oriental history — § 724. The moral of the judgment upon Assyria — § 725. Im-

agery of the catastrophe — § 726. Isa. xi. 1-5: The attributes of the ideal King — § 727. Isa. xi. 6-xii.: The reign of peace and the hymn of reunited Israel — § 728. Isa. xxxiii. 1-12: The coming redemption in spite of disappointments — § 729. Isa. xxxiii. 13-19: The trial and the deliverance — § 730. Isa. xxxiii. 20-24: The redeemed city and its people — § 731. Ps. xlvi.: The lyrical pendant of the later prophecies — § 732. Effect of the disaster on Sinacherib

CHAPTER VII

Sinacherib and Babylonia. § 733-744. P. 322-332

§ 733. Drift of affairs in Babylonia — § 734. Final disappearance of Merodach-baladan — § 735. Sinacherib's son made viceroy in Babylon — § 736. Reprisals of the fugitive Chaldæans — § 737. A fleet built for Sinacherib by inland waters — § 738. A naval expedition across the Gulf — § 739. The Elamites and Chaldæans in Babylonia; battle of Ḫalule — § 740. Capture and ruthless destruction of Babylon by Sinacherib — § 741. Closing years of Sinacherib — § 742. His character and disposition — § 743. Disastrous results of his centralizing policy — § 744. The manner of his taking off

CHAPTER VIII

Esarhaddon, Babylonia, and Egypt. § 745-762. P. 333-350

§ 745. The assassins and the rightful heir — § 746. Esarhaddon's report of his success — § 747. Factors of the situation — § 748. Esarhaddon's commission to restore Babylon — § 749. His description of the work — § 750. Beneficent effects of his policy — § 751. Outbreak and reconciliation of the Chaldæans — § 752. Good relations at length secured with Elam — § 753. The West-land; revolt and capture of Sidon — § 754. Campaigns in Arabia and their motive — § 755. Incidents of these transactions — § 756. The conquest of Egypt — § 757. Tyre not taken by Esarhaddon — § 758. The Kimmerians in the north — § 759. Their repulse by the Assyrians — § 760. New conditions ominous for Assyria — § 761. Death and achievements of Esarhaddon — § 762. His architectural monuments and his character

CHAPTER IX

Asshurbanipal and the Dissolving Empire. § 763-807. P. 351-390

§ 763. Accession of Asshurbanipal and his brother — § 764. Campaign in Egypt — § 765. Attitude of the vassal princes — § 766. Conspiracy of the viceroys with Tirhaka, and their defeat — § 767. The new king Urdaman and his unsuccessful war against Assyria — § 768. Egypt finally

freed under Psammetichus — § 769. The fortunes of Egypt and Isa. xix. — § 770. Nahum iii. and the capture of Thebes — § 771. Phœnicia and Palestine under Asshurbanipal — § 772. The capture of Tyre and Isa. xxiii. — § 773. The Kimmerians and Gyges of Lydia — § 774. Gyges and Asshurbanipal — § 775. Incidents and lessons of the story — § 776. A vast disturbance in the empire — § 777. Minor troubles and the signs of insurrection — § 778. Conditions under the king of Babylon — § 779. Rising of Chaldæans and Elamites — § 780. Parties to the great revolt — § 781. Babylon only partly responsible — § 782. Assyrians in Babylonia and troubles in Elam — § 783. Assyrian triumph and revenge in Babylonia — § 784. War with Elam; grandson of Merodach-baladan — § 785. His fate and that of Elam — § 786. Babylon aided by Arabian troops — § 787. Arabians, Nebaioth, and Kedar in the later conflicts — § 788. Assyrian expeditions and victories — § 789. Explanation of small revolts in Phœnicia — § 790. Revolt of Manasseh in Judah — § 791. Judah after Sinacherib's invasion — § 792. Little loss of territory — § 793. Acquiescence in Assyrian suzerainty — § 794. Assyrian neglect of Judah — § 795. Lessons of the chastisement — § 796. Conditions favourable to centralization of worship — § 797. Hezekiah's death; character of his epoch — § 798. King Manasseh and his early years — § 799. Occasions of his new religious policy — § 800. Decline of prophetism — § 801. Disaffection against Assyria — § 802. Settlement of its date — § 803. Silence of Asshurbanipal on the event — § 804. Manasseh's sedition, exile, repentance, and death — § 805. Results of his régime — § 806. Brief reign of Amon — § 807. Young Josiah and the revival of the prophetic party

CHAPTER X

Downfall of the Assyrian Empire. § 808-833. P. 391-414

§ 808. Condition of Assyria under Asshurbanipal — § 809. Its essential weakness — § 810. The Scythians — § 811. Duration and character of their invasions — § 812. Their devastations local and partial — § 813. Supposed allusions in Jeremiah — § 814. Ezekiel xxxviii. and Zephaniah — § 815. Immunity of Nineveh — § 816. Personal character of Asshurbanipal — § 817. His literary tastes and influence — § 818. His significant dependence on Babylonia — § 819. His political and personal weakness — § 820. His two successors on the throne of Nineveh — § 821. The dependent states and Nineveh — § 822. Nabopalassar the viceroy in Babylon — § 823. Growth and character of the Median kingdom — § 824. The Median kings — § 825. Combination of Medes and Babylonians — § 826. Basis of the understanding — § 827. Time of the destruction of Nineveh and its character — § 828. Singular preservation of its monuments — § 829. Revival of Hebrew Prophecy before the event — § 830. Zephaniah upon the catastrophe — § 831. The book of Nahum — § 832. Its vivid descriptions of the siege and capture — § 833. Prophetic images of Assyria

APPENDIX

P. 414–433

NOTE		PAGE
1.	Absolute rule in Israel	415
2.	Sargon's first Babylonian expedition	416
3.	The Aryan Medes	416
4.	The siege of Ashdod	417
5.	Sargon and Judah	419
6.	Biblical Chronology of the Kings	420
7.	The Altar at Damascus	423
8.	Date of Micah i–iii	424
9.	Inscriptions of Sinacherib	425
10.	Sinacherib and the siege of Tyre	426
11.	The submission of Hezekiah	426
12.	The capture of Lachish	427
13.	The plague in Sinacherib's army	428
14.	Course of the invasion of Sinacherib	429
15.	Isa. xxx. 7	432
16.	Inscriptions of Esarhaddon	432
17.	Inscriptions of Asshurbanipal	433

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

AHW. = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 1894 ff.

AL³. = Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3d ed., 1885.

GA II. = Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Vol. II, 1893.

HA. = W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, 2 vols., 1894.

HG. = G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1894.

IJG. = J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 2d ed., 1895.

Kinship = W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship in Early Arabia*, 1885.

OTJC. = Ibid. *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.*

Prophets = Ibid. *The Prophets of Israel.*

RS. = Ibid. *The Religion of the Semites.*

S. = The collection of inscriptions in the British Museum named after the discoverer, George Smith.

Book VII

THE INNER DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAEL

CHAPTER I

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

§ 365. It has been permitted to us to survey in the preceding chapters the lands and peoples that made up the ancient Semitic world. We have traced in broadest outline the rise and progress of the nationalities that played their parts in remotest times in Western Asia. We have seen how, at the date still popularly accepted as that of the creation of man, the well-defined territory known as the home of the Northern Semites was already portioned out. We have been enabled to tell with some degree of consistency and intelligence the story of the enterprise and achievements of the early Babylonians. We have learned to recognize them as among the greatest benefactors of our race, as the pioneers of science, and as the founders of the useful and liberal arts. Comparing the Babylonia of those remote days with the Babylonia of the present, we have beheld the law of human progress apparently reversed. The region of the lower Euphrates, now a dreary marshy waste, is revealed to us as reclaimed by them from desolation and barrenness, and made the garden of the world, while its dead level of desert land was relieved by populous cities and adorned with countless temples and palaces. We have seen how, for a period of

time twice as long as the present Christian era, this same people, through endless vicissitudes of political fortune, retained control of the birthplace of civilization. We have observed the growth, and the rise to power and pride, of Assyria, the offshoot, the rival, and the conqueror of Babylonia. The fortunes also of Aramæans and Canaanites enlisted our attention. In spite of the vagueness of their historical beginnings, we could at least follow the wanderings of the one family along the rivers of Mesopotamia to their inland commercial stations, and those of the other to their settlements on the harbours, the hill-slopes, and the valleys of the Mediterranean coastland. We found the Euphrates standing in the way of the westward movement of the Aramæans, and Northern Syria long unclaimed as a permanent abiding-place by any Semitic people. In earliest historic times, and for two thousand years thereafter, we find nowhere any memorial of the Hebrew race.

§ 366. Such is the groundwork of a vast historic structure. Symptoms of independent action and interaction among these Semitic peoples begin already with the first monumental records. A Babylonian empire appears about 4000 B.C. grasping at dominion, or at least aspiring to paramount influence, over the whole region between the Persian Gulf and the Sea of the West. Already are to be observed tokens of a far-reaching foreign policy on the part of the world's first empire. Already is given expression to that imperial idea which of itself gives unity and consistency to the most enduring national history the world has known. The first Sargon, with whom our narrative began, pointed the way westward to the second Sargon, with whom it has just come to a pause. The interval between the two is over three thousand years, and the dominant idea that vivifies and illumines it will be found operating to the end of our story, till the extinction of Semitism itself with the fall of Babylon. When the centre of political control was shifted from Sargon's city of Akkad to the southern region of Babylonia, the imperial

policy was still maintained. When, in the time of Abraham, the successive dynasties of native Babylonian princes were superseded by a brief foreign domination, the new rulers from over the Tigris fell in with the old aggressive movement towards Egypt and Palestine. During all the following centuries united Babylonia, whether under domestic rulers or princes of Kasshite descent, never abdicated the intellectual control of the West-land, though for considerable periods of time her military and political influence was in abeyance. The gradual decline of Babylonia and the rise of the Assyrians to power involved no abandonment of the traditional policy. The way to the West was only traversed more directly and more swiftly by the more energetic and practical servants of Asshur. Slowly but surely these "Romans of the East" extended their dominion, till at last they are found with the whole of the coastland either incorporated into their empire or ready for absorption.

§ 367. The other claimant to dominion in Asia was a non-Asiatic power. Egypt was at no time a nation of great political consequence to the world. It was not until the ancient rôle of Babylonia as a controlling force had been played out that she was able to secure any permanent footing in Asia, outside of the peninsula of Sinai. Nor did she ever extend her rule beyond the westerly sweep of the middle Euphrates. Moreover, her first military intervention north of the Desert was indirectly a consequence of the early Babylonian dominion in that region. Previously to the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C. the relations of Egypt with Palestine and Syria had been almost wholly commercial and social. The constant intrusion for many centuries of nomadic Asiatic tribes into Egypt, culminating in the dominion of the Shepherd Princes, was due in great part to the pressure of the Babylonian occupation of the West. It was the instinct of self-preservation, as much as the desire of foreign possessions, which first urged the Egyptians to the invasion of Asia after the withdrawal of

that pressure which coincided in time with the expulsion of the Hyksos. The relations of Egypt with the Asiatic West-land were wholly changed at that momentous epoch. From being so long the invaded, she became for a time the invader. But she could only undertake the new adventure because the immemorial arbiter in Asiatic affairs was then quite divided and weakened. This the greatest opportunity of Egypt came to her when Babylonia had begun to decline under the Kasshite dynasty, and Assyria, though strong enough to prevent the mother country from asserting herself as of old, was not yet prepared to reach out and grasp for herself the coveted western coastland. Furthermore, when the Egyptian conquests in Asia in the sixteenth century B.C. were begun, the whole region both east and west of the River had long been under the intellectual as well as the political sway of Babylonia. And when, two centuries later, the empire of the Nile had relaxed its grasp upon its Asiatic subjects, the Babylonian culture was as much in vogue as ever, and the very language of Babylonia was employed in letters sent to Upper Egypt from the hard-pressed Egyptian commanders in Palestine and Syria. Yet it was not by Babylonians, or Assyrians, or Aramæans, that the trespassers from over the Isthmus were extruded from their military tenure. Mere local uprisings of the small communities which then made up the population of Palestine and Syria were sufficient to eject them. When they next appeared as invaders in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, they were met by a more formidable foe, the Hettites — a race of mysterious origin, but probably in part at least of native Syrian stock. The prolonged hostilities of these powers, on pretty equal terms, prevented Palestine from falling permanently into the hands of either, and thus left it open to the next formidable invaders, the heroes of our story. Thereafter followed soon the wholesale incursions from the islands and shores of the Mediterranean, which damaged both of the rival claimants beyond recovery. The Hettite confederation was dissolved,

and Egypt did not appear in Asia again for four hundred years. Palestine was once more left open; and while the Phœnician seaports expanded their commercial ventures to world-wide dimensions, their kindred in the interior were left to contend unequally with a new and more successful invasion.

§ 368. Meanwhile Assyria was gradually extending her power and resources, and the power of Babylon, though with occasional retrievals, was as surely waning. Organized Assyrian colonies in Mesopotamia accelerated the movement of Aramæans westward over the Euphrates and their settlement in Northern and Middle Syria. Here they proved too strong for the remnants of the ephemeral Hettite confederacy. Very gradually and sporadically, after their manner, were their settlements made. But they had come to stay. This period in the checkered history shows Babylonia still circumscribed, Assyria still gaining upon her as a military power, and making occasionally a tremendous effort to subdue and hold the entire country as far as the Mediterranean. The task was different from that achieved by the old Babylonians. The country was now filled by busy and energetic communities, capable singly of offering a stubborn defence, and united, of repelling any power that could molest them from the east. They were, however, incapable of permanent confederation, and their submission to the more highly organized Assyrians was only a question of time. But these future conquerors were not as yet prepared for successful action on an adequate scale. It was not till the ninth century that they appeared in Southern Syria. The period of their preparation was the time of the early decisive development of the Hebrew and Aramaic communities.

§ 369. When about the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. the Hebrews appeared as invaders upon the borders of Canaan, they were sincerely asserting an hereditary claim. And though they had been for many centuries exiles from the Land of Promise, their memory had not

been entirely extinguished among the ruling occupants of its soil. Partly perhaps through tradition[1] and partly through the intercommunication between Palestine and Egypt, which was the order of the day till the time of the Exodus, a knowledge of the Hebrews as former inhabitants of the country was maintained among the people of Canaan. The "mixed multitude" of intermediate nomads who attached themselves to the fortunes of the marauders were also a connecting link with the people of the land. We must conceive of the "conquest of Canaan" as having been a very complex process. Battles and sieges no doubt formed some of the salient and decisive factors of the occupation. But however much the valour of the immigrants may have added to their prestige or accelerated their early encroachments, it did little directly to confirm their possession of the territory they had won. We have to assume that the relations of the Canaanites and Hebrews were pretty much the same as those which have marked the struggles for existence and supremacy from time immemorial among the less cultivated peoples of the Semitic world. Peaceful assimilation by naturalization and adoption is the principal means by which tribes and clans inherently superior enhance their pre-eminence. And while the superior organization of the Hebrews with their loyalty to, and trust in, Jehovah gave them an immense moral advantage over the peoples of the land, there was not such a radical

[1] If the place-names *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el* (to use modernized forms), which have been for the last thirty-five years so famous among archæologists, refer at all to the ancestors of the Hebrews, and are not entirely Canaanitish, they imply that the memory of these tribal heroes had been kept alive in Canaan for five hundred years. They are found in geographical lists of Thothmes III (§ 145; c. 1500 B.C.), the former being in Southern Judah, the latter in "Mount Ephraim," just as would be expected. The deification of Jacob and Joseph is naturally accounted for if some of their descendants settled in Canaan before the Exodus. To explain them as Canaanitic heroes has the obvious disadvantage of the lack of known historical association. For an ingenious treatment of these and kindred names from other points of view, see Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments* (1894), p. 337 ff.

social difference between the opposing elements as to prevent their gradual amalgamation. Especially must we keep in mind that the Canaanites did not, like the Babylonians or the Egyptians, form large communities with an elaborate centralized administration. Hence, a basis of unification was afforded, upon which the morally weaker yielded to the stronger by surrendering the social and religious distinctions upon which depended their political autonomy.

§ 370. Considering the enormous difficulties of the situation, the progress of the Hebrews in the new settlement was rapid. Scarcely two hundred years can have elapsed between the invasion and the founding of the monarchy. At the latter epoch no considerable Canaanitic settlement remained intact in the region which formed the historic soil of Israel. After the passing away of the original leaders, we hear of but one combination of native communities against the colonists, and that at a comparatively early period in the régime of the "Judges." Far more dangerous were the attacks from without, mostly from peoples nearly akin to the Hebrews. The inherent vitality of Israel and its internal cohesiveness are shown by the appearance of successive heroic deliverers, and, better still, by the devotion and loyalty of the masses of the people, who, in one district or another, rallied around them for the defence of their newly acquired homes and to vindicate the supremacy of Jehovah. There is, however, no evidence that the ideal of a united Israel was ever accomplished in this whole period. Rather, there is proof of perpetual tribal jealousy and a mournful record of intermittent bloody strife. Yet none of the native surrounding races could singly have dislodged or suppressed the Hebrews. Their subjugation and obliteration were seriously threatened by the better organized half-foreign Philistines of the western border-land.

§ 371. The danger of speedy extinction at last made clear to all who were called by the name of Jehovah

the imperious necessity of permanent combination. In the transition period from nomadism to settled life, the combinations of tribes were naturally made more frequently and successfully for defence than for aggression, and anything like a permanent union could only be effected on a scale much smaller than the national. Moreover, the tribes thus temporarily united could only follow a leader of approved wisdom and the gift of command. A combination of them all against an hereditary powerful foe could only be led by a king. All the invaders of Israel before the Philistines had waged a local warfare. This enemy overstepped their border and aimed to engulf the whole. The first king was naturally chosen from that portion of the country which was most vitally interested in the repulse of the Philistines. But the choice also determined the destiny of the nation. It gave prominence to the south instead of the north, and thus attached to the banner of Israel the numerically strong but hitherto indifferently loyal clans of Judah. The regency of Saul and Jonathan, though dashed with many failures and final overthrow, was a distinct advance for Israel. Judah, the inseparable companion in fortune of Benjamin, was now ready to lead on the forlorn hope, and that under an accomplished prince who had been trained in the arts of war and peace, to be the deliverer and ruler of his united people. His triumphs over his personal rivals, over the dreaded Philistines, over ancient and newly made foes of Israel, gave him and his country power and renown never equalled before or afterwards. His choice of Jerusalem as his capital secured the independence of his kingdom through the wars and tumults of four centuries.

§ 372. But tribal jealousy and sectional feeling were only allayed and not extinguished. The upward and forward movement of the whole community had diverted for awhile the local forces of discontent. They again inevitably found expression when the country became quiescent and the heroic efforts of self-denying patriotism,

which had established a strong and august monarchy, gave place to the less exciting business of sustaining the new institutions. Already in the time of highest national prosperity an adroit pretender like Absalom found the smouldering feeling strong enough to be fanned into a flame, and to be turned almost successfully against his father's kingship in Judah. The reign of Solomon was marked at first by great external splendour. But it aggrandized Judah and Benjamin at the expense of the northern tribes, the cultivation of whose interests was demanded alike by prudence and by justice. The division of the whole country into revenue districts, instead of obliterating local distinctions, only aggravated them. At the same time the foreign states made tributary by David began to fall off one by one, and the expense of the centralizing and luxurious government at Jerusalem fell more heavily upon the over-taxed people. At the death of Solomon a schism took place under the lead of Ephraim, the natural centre of the community of Israel. The breach then made was never healed.[1]

§ 373. There is a certain measure of propriety in speaking of "united Israel." But the phrase has to be used with a large reservation. An external political union of the tribes was just barely accomplished only to be speedily annulled. Under the Judges it was merely possible in a loose sense. Indeed, it would seem that all the tribes were never fully represented in a national council or on the field of battle. The reigns of David and Solomon over all Israel lasted but two generations. It is questionable how far the organization of the kingdom extended. The census taken by the one, and the territorial redistribution attempted by the other, were doubtless contrived partly in order to bring within the scope of regular administration the outlying northern and eastern tribes, whose associations with their heathen neighbours imperilled, and

[1] An excellent essay on "Jeroboam and the Disruption," by Prof. C. F. Kent, may be found in the *Biblical World*, July, 1894, p. 38 ff.

at last quite destroyed, their tribal autonomy and their national loyalty. They failed in their object. Probably no complete fusion was ever possible. Peaceful federation for long among any branch of the ancient Semites seems to have been out of the question. The Hebrews were the best disposed thereto of all the race; but with them also local interests finally triumphed over their own ideal of national centralization. The notion of a united Israel is imposing and persistent. A people or a race of enduring memories and tragic fates idealizes its earlier history, and even in its decline colours the whole horizon of its national outlook with the reflection of the bright imagined past. But the idea of Israel as a great political unit is based not merely on the ephemeral glory of the kingdom of David. It is the embodiment of the far profounder and more abiding conception of a religious unity. The real solidarity of Israel was always the outcome of a common allegiance and fidelity to Jehovah. It was not more true that Jehovah, their God, was One, than that they, his people, should be one also. But this union of heart and sentiment depended again upon the purity and spirituality of his worship. In this, also, Israel has idealized its past. Though pure and spiritual in the ideal cherished by worthy souls throughout the history of Israel, the constant tendency of the mass of the people, including as a rule the governing classes, was to debase his worship, both after their own ancestral fashion, and after the still more sensuous and degrading models of the Canaanitish religions. This, however, did not do away with the sense of obligation to serve Jehovah, in one tangible method or another. The Temple and its services in Jerusalem discouraged, from the very first, idolatrous or symbolic worship. But the Temple was now no longer Israelitish. It was at once the centre of the Judaic monarchy and the most powerful factor in its conservation and growth. The schismatics of Ephraim and its northern allies recognized, as strongly as did the Judaites, the claims of Jehovah's wor-

ship. The absence of his auspices meant the collapse of Israel everywhere. Hence the consecration of popular symbols of Jehovah among the northern tribes, whose shrines, in the ancient sacred places of their ancestors, were so distributed as to intercept and influence, in behalf of the specific Ephraimitish rites, the population of the land both near and far. Thus was the fiction of a national palladium cherished and maintained.

§ 374. The history of Northern Israel in its development and decline naturally falls into three main periods. The first division extends to the dynasty of Omri and the founding of Samaria; the second, to the end of the dynasty of Jehu; the third, to the fall of the capital. The first period (925–885 B.C.) is one of disorganization, of blind struggling, and of confusion. In spite of the advantages which it had over its southern rival, in a greater population, a more seductive worship, and the chances of immunity from exorbitant taxation, its earlier years were marked by political and industrial misfortune. The elements of a strong kingdom were present, but there was no real government of the nation as a whole. Indeed, it would be difficult to define the limits of the nation in this period, or to point out in what sense a nation really existed. The outlying tribes at the best held on to the commonwealth and the institutions of Israel by a very precarious tenure. Even the more central tribes, with Ephraim as the moral base of support and the rallying ground, were without a common state policy, or unity of feeling or of action, or national spirit, or loyalty to their leaders. It seems, in fact, that the whole of the nominal Israel never in this period clung to a single ruler. And while the people did not know how to obey, the kings were equally unable to govern. "The manner of the kingdom" that had been propounded carefully by its inaugurator could in any case be learned only by experience; and the scattered, unsociable tribes and clans and families of Israel were but slow scholars in this department of political science. So far the kingly

art had been practised almost exclusively in the family of Judah. Monarchical independence, suddenly asserted by the northern tribes, found them equally unprepared to enjoy its privileges and to exercise its prerogatives. Jeroboam's *coup d'état*, justifiable as it may have been under the conditions, was a political failure. Monarchy was never really at home in any section of Israel. Its rare comparative success was only gained through slow adjustment to the patent consequences of repeated and disastrous failures. In things political, Israel, like most of the Semites, learned only under the sting of the lash. The recoil from Rehoboam's threatened whip of scorpions, while affording a temporary measure of freedom, brought about in effect a relapse into semi-anarchy.

§ 375. Evidence of governmental impotence and of popular distrust abound on every hand. The little remnant of Judah, compact and united, was the superior in war for the first twenty years after the disruption. The change of capitals, or rather of royal residences, shows not only the desperate character of the royal fortunes, but also, when we consider the functions of a king in Israel, reveals the difficulty experienced by the people in securing the redress of social grievances. The facility with which so much of the country north of Esdraelon was transferred to the Aramæans of Damascus and retained by them, indicates that a chasm separated Naphtali and Zebulon from Ephraim, as deep as that which sundered Ephraim from Judah. The succession of usurpations, dethronements, and murders which followed the death of Jeroboam were not so much the occasions as the symptoms of internal strife and confusion. They might almost seem to have formed a necessary stage in the development of a genuine monarchy out of the nucleus of the loosely attached sections and tribes that still held fast to the name and the traditions of Israel. "Ephraim" was evolved out of "Israel" through a series of revolutions; and the confusion and turmoil that agitated the whole chaotic body politic

were as necessary to the consolidation of the surviving kingdom as the internal dislocations and upheavals, and the centrifugal ejection of the future satellites, are an essential part of the evolution of suns and planets. An attentive view of the historical conditions will bring us to see that the "Kingdom of the Ten Tribes" never existed except as a splendid idealized possibility, and that from the governmental point of view the course of affairs in Northern Israel, until the opening of the last period of decline and collapse, was not really a degeneration, but an advance, however broken and tortuous.

§ 376. The second period (885–784 B.C.) was, according to this view of Israel's political career, the epoch of its real development into a nation. Unity and solidarity came in fact to each of the kingdoms through their separation; and if the two main sections could not be fused together, it were much better that they should be severed, and crystallize each around its own centre. Samaria, founded by the genius and foresight of Omri, became to the Northern Kingdom what Jerusalem was to the Southern. It proved a rallying-place and a sure defence for the harassed tribes and clans that gathered about Ephraim. The work of the founder and his successors was essentially to keep intact what had been saved from the disasters succeeding the schism. Their régime was coincident with the flourishing period of the Aramæans in Syria, and also with the first stages of the warfare of the Assyrians upon the liberties of the southwestern states. It is the conflicts with the Aramæan kingdom of Damascus which have given its distinctive character, its life and colour, to the history of the kingdom of Samaria. Already, before the days of Omri, the northernmost portion of Israel had been absorbed by the Aramæans. The worth of the new fortress of Samaria was put to the test in the strenuous endeavour to save the central tribes. The Syrian wars marked the heroic era of the Northern Kingdom. The dynasty of Omri, whatever its shortcomings otherwise, was patriotic and

brave. Its greatest struggle was made for the retention of Israelitish territory beyond the Jordan. There Damascus was pressing hard from the north, and Moab from the south. Moab, subjugated by Omri, was lost by Ahab to Israel forever. Gilead and Bashan were the scene of Israel's most intense struggles and most bitter sufferings. They also were virtually lost. The Aramæans circumscribed Israel to its central domain, the territory which might be controlled and defended from the fortress of Samaria. They would probably have crippled the Hebrews much more seriously were it not that the Assyrians inflicted upon them very serious losses on hard-fought battle-fields. The first great conflict was waged against the eastern invaders with the help of Israel and other Palestinian states, but thereafter Damascus bore alone the brunt of numberless attacks. It was for nearly a century the sentinel and guardian of Palestine.

§ 377. The policy of the dynasty of Omri was fateful in other spheres than that of war. Convinced that the misfortunes and losses and disintegration of Israel were due to the unattractive simplicity of the services of Jehovah, these rulers sought to invest the national cult with the pomp and *éclat* of the dual worship of the Canaanitish Baal and Astarte, now made more imposing and seductive than ever under the auspices of the wealthy and luxurious cities of Phœnicia. The movement was doubtless successful for a time, as far as building up a court party with a powerful following served to realize the original purpose. But a deadly, twofold evil was the speedy and inevitable result. Corruption of morals was promoted by the legitimated vices of the rites of Astarte, and a selfish tyrannical spirit, the invariable accompaniment of degenerate Oriental courts, was rapidly developed among the ruling classes. Another feature of the policy of Ahab, who, through his Tyrian queen Jezebel, was at once the inaugurator and the instrument of the Phœnician alliance, was the cultivation of friendship with the sister kingdom. Such a *rapproche-*

ment, desirable in itself, was confirmed by intermarriage between the kingly houses, which came near engulfing Judah also in the abominations of Baal-worship. The excesses of the new régime in Israel were the immediate occasion of the outburst of prophetic zeal with which the names of Elijah and Elisha are imperishably associated. Though primarily the champions of Jehovah and his cause, their preaching had a very practical popular end. Their protests against the oppressions of the court, and in behalf of the outraged liberty of Israelitish freemen, gave life and force to the uprising against the votaries of Baal which it was the direct object of their crusade to provoke. The desperate nature of the evils may be inferred not merely from the drastic remedy of revolution, but also from the character of the ill-regulated instrument chosen to accomplish it.

§ 378. The cleavage of the great schism between Judah and Israel was not so deep as its immediate consequences might seem to indicate. The political union had never been very close, and the hostilities that followed the revolt of Jeroboam, fierce as they were while they lasted, did not long prevail over the inherent conditions that made for harmony and mutual forbearance. The sanguinary wars that marked the earliest reigns were mainly due to the recriminations that followed the separation. It was the successful attacks of the Syrians upon Israel north of Jezreel, invoked by their Judaic allies, that aroused the surviving northern tribes to a sense of the folly of fratricidal war. After the accession of the dynasty of Omri we hear no more of treaties between Judah and Damascus, and very rarely of feuds between Israel and Judah. Certainly no quarrel was provoked against the southerners by their northern brothers till Samaria approached her fall. Religious differences had little to do at any time with keeping up the estrangement between the two Hebrew kingdoms. The practical distinction between the golden bulls at Bethel and the Ark in the Temple at Jerusalem was for a time not

so great as might appear. Of spiritual worship there was little or none connected with either ritual. The priesthood was, as a rule, subservient to the court, and for twenty years after the disruption the idolatrous usages introduced by the degenerate Solomon held uninterrupted sway in Judah. Then a distinct change for the better was effected through the reforming zeal of Asa and Jehoshaphat. Behind this there was the silent working of prophetic teaching and the moral influence of the legitimate temple, the proper seat of the God of Israel. Hence it happened that when the attempt was made to annex Judah also to the moral dominion of the Phœnician Baal, the daughter of Jezebel could not finally prevail against the forces that made for righteousness and loyalty in Jerusalem. The best possible evidence of the existence of a strong wholesome sense of the claims of Jehovah is afforded in the fact that the revolt against Athaliah was led by a priest. On the other hand, we gather from the alliances between devout and faithful princes of Judah and the recreant rulers of Israel, in the days of Elijah and Elisha, that Jehovah was not nominally discarded in the Northern Kingdom. Certainly no quarrels rose between the two states on account of religious divergences. The territory embraced in both was always regarded as Jehovah's land, and its inhabitants as Jehovah's people. This was the fundamental reason why the relations between the kingdoms were normally fraternal and peaceful. Even the inherited enmity between Amaziah and Joash could not be prolonged or intensified into a *vendetta*. It was due to this bond of brotherhood that the victory of Joash was not followed up by the subjection of his rival's kingdom.

§ 379. The consolidation of Judah was much more easily and speedily effected than that of Israel; and its internal troubles were proportionally much less serious. But its political rôle was quite insignificant till the time of Uzziah. For increase of population and of wealth it could draw only upon the Philistian plain and the Desert to the

south. After its early successes in war, due to the unsettlement of the Northern Kingdom, the military inferiority of Judah became manifest: the Syrians had to be invoked to save it from the vengeance of Baasha. Shortly after the disruption, the Egyptians were able to overrun Judah and enter Jerusalem with but little opposition. Judah became strong and prosperous whenever it was able to hold as tributary Edom and the surrounding region, which controlled the Red Sea trade and much of the overland traffic from Southern Arabia. This was not fully, though often partially, accomplished between the days of Solomon and Uzziah. Edom was the national pendant of a strong monarchy to the north, but it was the home of a resolute and gifted people, the most cultured of the semi-nomadic communities that bordered on Palestine. No wars in which Judah ever engaged approached those waged against Edom in bitterness and persistency. Edom was to Judah, in this and in other ways, what Damascus was to Northern Israel.

§ 380. The overthrow of the dynasty of Omri and the accession of the line of Jehu mark a momentous epoch in the fate of Israel. The worship of Baal was suppressed for a time; but that of Jehovah was not duly re-established. Politically, the revolution was a disastrous failure. Israel was weakened, and Judah was alienated, to the great advantage of the Aramæans. More significant still was Jehu's submission to Shalmaneser II. Henceforth the fate of Israel is inextricably intertwined with that of Assyria. The motives of the great tragedy now become manifold; Israel is lifted out of its petty narrowness by choosing a world-conqueror for its patron, and thus prepares for its own eventual effacement. Jehu's submission did not even secure respite to his kingdom from the attacks of the Syrians. Damascus was now at the summit of its power and glory. In spite of intermittent attacks from the Assyrians, its armies invaded and almost captured Samaria and ravaged the whole of Palestine. The destruction of Israel now seemed certain. But repeated

onslaughts of the Assyrians against Damascus succeeded at last. That great fortress was taken, and Israel was relieved. Then followed the retirement of the eastern invaders, overwrought and weary. For half a century they remained inactive. But they had done their work upon Damascus. Israel and Judah were free. Their power and prestige revived, and reached a breadth and height undreamed of before.

§ 381. The first great literary Prophets illuminate for us the last period of the Northern Kingdom, and reveal at the same time the shady side of its transient era of prosperity. Both from Amos and from Hosea we gather that the wide extension of dominion gained by Jeroboam II had but a brief existence. They give us also good reason to think that during his later years he was greatly surpassed in power and prestige by Uzziah of Judah. But what is most significant is the revelation we have of the essential unsoundness of Israel. The end of its troubled career, precipitated by assaults from without, was accelerated and prepared by head and heart sickness within. Self-indulgence, luxury, and pride; oppressiveness, greed, and cruelty, — these, with practical idolatry, were the symptoms of a moral disease which must soon end in dissolution. The earliest Prophets of Judah also turn their far-gleaming search-light upon the devoted monarchy, and announce its approaching and well-merited doom. Their own country is in somewhat similar case; but the saving remnant there may bear the Temple and the house of David safe through the overwhelming floods. For Samaria there is to be no reprieve. The retribution that comes upon her from without only anticipates the work of death carried on by invisible foes fondly cherished within her own bosom.

§ 382. In the eighth century B.C., which was the era of written Prophecy in Israel, began also the most important and far-reaching political movements of the ancient world. The century which witnessed the founding of

Rome and the rise of Sparta and Athens, was also signalized by the organization of the Assyrian empire. It was no mere coincidence that Amos and Isaiah appeared in the same age and in the same historic region as those which produced Tiglathpileser III and Sargon II. In the first half of the century Prophecy attests its political insight by the announcement of the revival of the languishing power of Assyria; during the second half that revival was completely accomplished. The idea of political and military force was familiar to the Prophets. They recognized its mission in the world as one not wholly fraught with evil. It was an instrument in the hands of Jehovah, whom they acknowledged and proclaimed as the God of the whole earth. Their own race and nation were to feel its crushing weight, Jehovah's people though they were, and dwellers in Jehovah's land. The Prophets alone could explain the anomaly. It was a higher principle that was claiming and vindicating a right to rule, the universal principle of righteousness, divine and human. In its majestic progress it would utilize the Assyrian and then supersede him. What the earlier Prophets had most at heart in their political interests was the outcome of the increasing complications between Israel and the dominating power of the empire of the Tigris and Euphrates. History has approved their discrimination, verified their judgment, and justified their prevision. The involution of petty states like Israel and Judah in the movements of the gigantic power of Assyria was indeed a matter of comparatively little moment as a mere political incident. But a significance even larger than that attaching to the deeds of all world-rulers was lent to the fate of Israel by those seers of the race, who discerned behind and beneath all these events the outstretched arm of Israel's God. Since the fate of Israel was the fate of Jehovah's earthly kingdom, its fortunes became of infinite moment. They teach us also to look beneath the surface of the current of Asiatic affairs. Even the monotonous annals of Assyria's

vainglorious rulers now become of importance. We read there between the lines the underlying motives that guided their policy. These motives are invested for us with a living interest, for they determined in varied and persistent action the destiny of Israel. The relations of the subject states of the empire to the sovereign power; the conditions of protection or of tolerance on the one hand, and of repression or of obliteration on the other; the degrees of subjection; the civil and religious obligations of the dependent peoples, — these conditions, learned from the chronicles of the governing nation, assume now a dignity and importance which in their immediate setting they could never deserve. They are brought close to the immortal and priceless words of the Prophets of Israel, and both together furnish the key to the history of those memorable times.

§ 383. The ruler of the new Assyrian empire, when he came upon Syria and Palestine soon after his accession, found there a changed condition of affairs. Damascus had in the peaceful interval recovered a part of her former strength, and all of her old self-confidence. Israel and Judah, so soon to be divided in fate, were now also divided in spirit and in national aims and interests. Fortune had dealt hardly with the Northern Kingdom. In its decline, as well as in its beginning, it was torn asunder by faction, and irreparably weakened by internal violence. Dynasties lasting a year or less made a suggestive contrast to the unshaken steadfastness of the "house of David," in the sister kingdom. After the permanent annexation of North and Middle Syria, Tiglathpileser moved upon Damascus and Israel, since both of them were constructively the derelict vassals of Assyria. He was bought off at a heavy price, but returned four years later. Now he finds Northern Israel in alliance with its ancient rival, Damascus. This portends a combination of the southwestern states against the Assyrian power, and thus affords a pretext to the invader for subjugating the

whole. Judah, however, refuses to join the league. Against it the allies declare and begin war, and are joined by Edom, its vengeful enemy, now again freed from the yoke of Uzziah. Ahaz of Judah invokes the aid of the Assyrians in opposition to the counsel of Isaiah, whose career as prophet and statesman is now well begun. The fateful bargain is struck. Judah becomes the vassal of Assyria, and the great conqueror becomes for the time its champion. It is rescued from a doubtful danger with the certain penalty of religious and political degradation. Damascus, as an ancient inveterate rebel, is annexed, and many of its people deported. Samaria, as a revolted tributary, is shorn of half its territory. Its ruler is deposed, and a successor appointed on rigorous sufferance.

§ 384. Other conquests bring all Palestine to look upon Assyria as its suzerain. The degree of subjection varies from the voluntary vassalage of Judah to the complete incorporation of Israel north of Jezreel. But in general the Ninevite may take toll and keep the peace as far as the borders of Egypt. One insurrection more, and the remnant of Israel will disappear from among the nations. Independent or hostile action in Jerusalem will make of Judah a suspected and amerced instead of a protected and favoured vassal. The fate of the two Hebrew communities is very different. While Judah endures a century and a half longer as a kingdom, ten years make up Samaria's day of grace. Her fall is hastened by a foreign ally, whose friendship never boded well for Palestine. The empire of the Nile has a national revival also, like the empire of the Tigris, and the new Ethiopian dynasty resumes the old interest in the affairs of Asia. The motive, however, is largely the sense of danger from a power which has already crippled Egypt in her Arabian possessions. Intrigue against Assyria is actively set on foot in Palestine. Judah is kept clear for a time through the counsels of Isaiah. Samaria ventures the last fatal step after the death of her conqueror. She is besieged by his

short-lived successor, and falls after a three years' blockade, sustained without the promised help of Egypt. With the accession of Sargon II, the obliteration of the kingdom of Israel is complete.

§ 385. We have thus reviewed in long perspective the events and conditions that gave to the ancient history of Western Asia its enduring significance. We bear in our minds the image of a multitude of petty nations rising and falling, struggling for existence or for short-lived power, all of them overshadowed and absorbed by a mighty civilization and a colossal empire whose imperial aims are pursued with the persistency of fate. Far from the original seat of this world-ruling community a place is prepared for a people equally unique and potentially more important. We have a glimpse of the outward conditions by which, through stage after stage, this petty nation was prepared to grow into a type of society higher than any which rested on force or culture alone. We have observed, also, that this consecration of Israel to the service of the world only began when the motives of the larger inclusive history of Babylonia had long since come into play. We have followed the development of the Babylonian idea, as transferred to the empire of the Tigris with its more practical conceptions of conquest and government. We have traced the changeful fortunes of the Palestinian states till they became meshed in the net of the Assyrian spoilers, till one Hebrew community is made actually their prey, and the other virtually their prisoner. The fate of the Northern Kingdom is decided forever; that of the Southern not obscurely indicated. Here we are brought to a pause. The problem of Israel is not yet solved. We need light for the full understanding of the past; light also to make plain the future. We feel that, after all, we have not yet got to the heart of the matter. The events and conditions we have noted seem to be but the limbs and outward flourishes of the subject. We have seen to some extent the "how" of the process; but

we cannot be satisfied till we also know a little of the "why." We look back over the way we have traversed, and we recognize many peaks and ridges, large and small, that serve us well as reminders and guides. But these are something more than mere historical landmarks. They are the results and tokens of movements below the surface, where hidden forces have been working throughout the ages. It may be given to us to lay bare the foundations of these everlasting hills of Providence; to find the basal granite; perhaps also to follow the lines of local disturbance, to trace out the causes and to measure the force of such monumental upheavals. To set aside the figures, it is proper, and indeed necessary, to search out the workings of the inner life of Israel, of which the outward movements and events and conditions have revealed themselves to us as the symptoms. We must see, if possible, how the social and political structure of Israel arose; how the external organization came to be the expression of characteristic underlying causes and principles; how the intellectual and religious habits and productions of the people were the embodiment of sentiments proper to them and to them alone; how their distinctively Hebraic elements were differentiated from the antecedent Semitic inheritance of usage and belief; how Israel alone among the ancient peoples of the earth was admitted into the holy place of essential and everlasting truth in the supreme region of morals and religion. If the tale already told is worth the telling, much more memorable is the unfolding of the higher issues yet to be related.

§ 386. In making once more an exclusive claim for Israel's history and religion, it may not be out of place to restate, with some emphasis and particularity, the canon of historical proportion which has been followed in the present essay (§ 16). In the checkered history of the North Semitic states the fortunes of Israel furnish the dominant motive and the guiding thread. This is their function, not so much on account of their immediate importance

or intrinsic interest, as by reason of their implication in movements of mind and spirit which have transcended all national and ethnical limitations. It is not the fortunes of nations and races in themselves that engage our most earnest attention; it is rather the progress of a national idea invested with perpetual and universal significance. In like manner the surviving illustrative materials, chief of which are "Prophecy and the Monuments," perform their most signal service to "History," the one by indicating the inner moral import of passing events, the other by showing us more clearly their causal relations. So also the great landmarks of our historical survey have their prominence lent them, not by their direct political importance as occasions or effects of external changes, but by their significance in the chain of causes that gave ampler range and freer scope to the true mission of Israel among the nations.

§ 387. Of the justness of these distinctions, our present standpoint for review furnishes striking illustration. It is not merely the consequences of the fall of Samaria to the ruling peoples of the time which mark it out as a monumental epoch. As we shall have occasion to see, the empires of Assyria and Egypt were affected in some measure by the extinction of Northern Israel. And yet, important as were the immediate results of the conquest of Samaria, it appears, when viewed in historical perspective, to be a comparatively slight incident in the mighty struggle for the dominion of Western Asia. The relations of Assyria and Egypt with the ill-fated monarchy were primarily military and diplomatic, and, therefore, in the main of an external character, affecting only for a time the troubled currents of Asiatic affairs. A higher significance is given to Samaria in its fall when viewed in connection with its own tragic history and with the doubtful fortunes of the surviving Hebrew state. Yet here again we must go below the surface for the deeper meaning of the memorable story. It was not merely or chiefly the

political consequences to Judah of the course of events in the Northern Kingdom which made the ruin of the larger state so fateful to the smaller, and so exemplary to all communities of men in the coming ages. In the little world of the sister kingdom the ill-learned lessons of Samaria's fate were soon forgotten in the tasks and obligations of its own hard servitude, and in the throes of its own impending dissolution. Only the unforgetting sentinels on the nation's watch-towers kept looking back with fond regrets over the two centuries of separation, or cherished alluring visions of a reunited Israel. And these same events in Israel's history would soon have faded out from the records and the memory of our race if they had not been set in the light of a larger illuminating principle. The informing divine idea in the career of Israel gives lasting importance only to those political transactions which illustrate its own vindication, its tardy recognition, and the first steps of its sure progress towards unchallenged supremacy. The intimate associations and subtle interactions of Northern and Southern Israel, springing from community of origin, of worship, and of traditions, would, to be sure, in any case, have been worthy of the attention of the later ages. But the story of other peoples also is full of moving human interest; and the fates of colossal empires and civilizations would have so overshadowed the petty fortunes of Israel, that its records, if surviving at all, would have attracted little regard except from archæological or sociological research. It is the dominating moral issues of this people's fortunes that have transferred its struggles and achievements to a higher region than that of state-craft and war, have brought them into play upon a wider arena, and have endowed them with a more enduring potency. Vitalized by the world-moving seers of the chosen race, they have, with an energy continually transmuted and yet perpetually accelerated, given impulse and direction to the forces of history. And their unrelaxing momentum is felt to-day more strongly than ever in the

surging and beating of the restless tide of human thought and endeavour.

§ 388. Such reflections remind us of the unique character of the task upon which we have ventured. They also suggest to us in what spirit and temper and with what mental attitude we should approach the subject. We have before us a series of complex historical and social phenomena, in which it is not always easy to find unifying principles. Viewed broadly, however, we have to do with two communities, the Northern and Southern Kingdoms of Israel, which arose from a nominal union of tribes and clans. We have paused in the narrative of their outward fortunes at the point where an aggressive and all-conquering empire has effaced one of them from among the nations and made the other its vassal. The fate of both is contained implicitly in the conditions with which they began their career among the peoples. As well as we can, therefore, we have to learn how the people of Israel used their resources and opportunities, and fulfilled their responsibilities, from the beginning of their settlement in Canaan till they reached this period, so fatal and so critical. Primarily, we have to do with one people, and not with two. But the causes of the separation run far back, and are in a sense fundamental; and now we have come to a point where they are parted forever. Looking behind from this epoch, and again returning to it, we are inevitably more preoccupied with the Northern Kingdom, which has played the greater part and now has vanished from the stage of history. In dealing with its career, moral judgments are specially appropriate. We are called upon to summarize the causes that led to its decline and fall, to trace the progress of the inner motives that determined its destiny, and to estimate the character and value of the political and moral legacy which it bequeathed to the surviving nations. The task should not be fruitless, for the "kingdom of the Ten Tribes" furnishes within its brief

compass of time and space the most favourable of all conditions for profitable historical study. It was in many striking features, which are presented to us with exceptional fulness, almost a complete epitome of an Oriental kingdom, and thus it offers a rare field for the student of ancient politics. But it was typical and representative of much wider and more important human relations. Perhaps in the history of no other people of antiquity are the fundamental lessons of social and political morality so obvious, so luminously illustrated by concrete examples, or so sharply and urgently enforced by contemporary teachers. What is true of the Northern is also true largely of the Southern Kingdom, since they never ceased to be one people, and in the largest aspect they present but one great problem. The practical distinction is that the rôle of Judah is at this point of time still unfinished, indeed not more than well begun, that it soon becomes relatively much more important, and that it will have to come up again for final review.

§ 389. The reader will mark that we are not setting up any special exalted standard of national and civic virtue according to which this moral outcome of Israel's history is to be valued. A judgment based upon such an exceptional and invidious criterion would be invalid and inconclusive to the enlightened modern mind. The achievements and failures of Israel are to be judged like those of other communities. We must ask whether its resources were utilized or squandered, whether its responsibilities were accepted or evaded, whether its ideals were cultivated and cherished or renounced and discarded. It will also not be forgotten in the summing up that while the historian may point out the causes of success or failure in national life, it is not his duty to praise or to censure. It is his part to recognize conditions of national growth and decay as well as to observe their results, and to set forth the determining causes of the one and the other in the political and also in the ethical sphere. But the personal

enforcement of the lessons is left to the preacher and the essayist. To them is remitted the task of applying the conclusions of the history of the past to the problems and obligations of the present, as also of determining the worth of our modern civilization and morality as compared with the achievements and failures of ancient Israel.[1] And yet we must not forget that the great issues of Israel's career were primarily moral and only secondarily political, and that therefore the judgments of the historian upon the outcome of the history must be based upon moral standards.

§ 390. Mistakes and misconceptions are here very easily made, but at least one very natural and very common error we must avoid. We cannot with any sort of justice or propriety transfer mechanically the ethical ideals and requirements of our Christianized and enlightened age to the social and personal conditions of these early peoples. It is perhaps even harder to surround ourselves in imagination with the social and moral atmosphere of the distant past than it is to appreciate its remoteness from us in conditions intellectual or material. But it is just as necessary in the one sphere as in the other. In all things we must cultivate the historical spirit. We must not only have the past brought before us, but we must learn to see it clearly. It should be not merely an exhibition, but a revelation. It is a great gift to us, the heirs of all the ages, that Oriental antiquity has been disentombed, resurrected, and brought into our very presence. But it is a gift equally great to have eyes to discern the inner movements that made its history, and hearts to feel for the struggles and sufferings, and failures too, of those who, in the time and within the sphere assigned them by Providence, lived and wrought for us as well as for them-

[1] How our Christian civilization actually compares in some essential points of morality with the condition of things among the ancient Hebrews is suggestively set forth in an article in *The Thinker* of September, 1894 (vol. vi. p. 220 f.), by Rev. W. P. Paterson, B.D., entitled, "The Politics of the Prophets."

selves. It would be lamentable indeed if, after being stirred up to something more than a languid interest in the most instructive of all national histories, we should exchange the indifferent glance of ignorance for the patronizing survey of pharisaic self-complacency, or that we should view these prototypes of ours through the coloured glasses of fashionable or traditional prejudice. Knowledge is the telescope that brings this region of antiquity into view; but sympathy, intellectual and moral, is the subtle ethereal medium through which we gain a true insight into its essential character. And since we are bound by indissoluble spiritual bonds to this very people of Israel, it is certain that if we fail to do justice to them, we shall thereby prove our incapacity to do justice to ourselves, in our relations to the moral obligations of our own time and our own social and religious environment, which press upon us with the same inexorable urgency and the same eternal sanctions.

CHAPTER II

THE ELEMENTS AND CHARACTER OF HEBREW SOCIETY

§ 391. What, then, were the occasions and conditions of Israel's rise, progress, and decline? We may naturally divide them into causes internal and causes external. Thus far, since our attention has mainly been directed to the actual events of the history, we have had to dwell somewhat unduly upon the external motives and influences which were largely connected with the political environment of Israel. Now it will be proper to dwell more upon the inner life and intrinsic qualities of the people. The whole subject of the political vicissitudes of Israel, and of the moral and religious issues so intimately associated therewith, will become clearer if we can succeed in getting an adequate conception of the processes of the social and corporate development of the people. We have to begin this task by a reference to the general statements that were made (§ 31 ff.) in connection with the discussion of the founding of civic institutions among the Semitic peoples. These observations we shall need to amplify and supplement with some care and detail. The first essential step is to define the several terms which are employed to designate the various aggregations of the people, larger or smaller. One remark it may be well to make at the outset. We will do well to remember that the English words used to translate the Hebrew technical expressions are not necessarily the exact equivalents of the same words used to describe ancient divisions among the peoples of Europe, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Slavic, or Keltic, or contempora-

neous communities among the less civilized races of mankind. Each race has its own social instincts, and its own distinctive types of domestic as well as of political life. The handling of these special matters, and the study of the aspects of ancient life generally, require a just attitude of mind and a right method.

§ 392. To understand aright the distant past we must learn to live in it. Every nation in every age has an atmosphere of thought and feeling of its own distinct from every other. Its manners and customs, its political and social features, its views of this world and the next, its beliefs and prejudices, can only be appreciated by us if we study them from the point of view of those who lived under these institutions and were controlled by these ideas. Broadly speaking, our knowledge of ancient nations and civilizations comes to us through their surviving literary monuments. The readiness and aptitude with which we appreciate the life and genius of any ancient community depend upon several conditions, not only in ourselves, but also in the people with which we may be dealing. Speaking generally, the more human and universal the literature of any nation, the more quickly and deeply it enters into our minds and hearts. Among all ancient literatures there is none so human and so universal as that of the ancient Hebrews, including, of course, the New Testament as well as the Old. The experiences recorded in it seem more like what is either habitual or possible to ourselves than those embodied in any other ancient records or memoirs. The ideals which it exhibits, illustrates, and enforces are more inspiring, better worth realizing, and at the same time more attainable, than those set forth by any other intellectual or spiritual masters. As a matter of course, then, its language is more homely, more translucent, more intelligible, than that of other writings of antiquity. All this implies that the ideas with which the literature of Israel is conversant are not foreign to those of modern life, and, at the same time, not so complex as

those which are the product of other civilizations. More specifically, in relation to our special theme, it is to be said that the institutions, domestic, civil, and religious, of the Hebrews are simple and comprehensible to a degree quite unique. Otherwise we could never, so to speak, have naturalized or domesticated the Bible. Otherwise we could never have brought it home to our hearts and lives. For the distinctive phraseology of the Bible is not merely coloured by the institutions, human and divine, of the Hebrew people; it is actually founded upon them. The language of a people is the reflex of its religious and political, its social and domestic life, of its habitual mode of thinking and acting. The language of an ancient and primitive people is almost immediately expressive of its peculiar institutions; the stamp has not yet been worn off from its intellectual and moral currency by the long and debasing friction of the world's exchange. There are certain characteristic Biblical terms, the mention of which brings us right at once into the midst of the religious and social life of Israel — words like *covenant*, *sacrifice*, *sanctuary*, *tabernacle*, *prophet*, *priest*; *tribe*, *family*; *father*, *mother*, *brother*; *master*, *servant*; *teacher*, *disciple*.

§ 393. When such expressions as these occur to our minds, we feel that we may have by their means a grasp upon the thought and life of Israel more strong and sure than that by which we apprehend the mental and moral characteristics of any other ancient community. But this consideration of itself impels us to inquire into the exact force and significance of such terms. We have observed how obvious and how easy of apprehension these phrases are in their general import. And yet they are distinctively and genuinely Hebrew, sprung from the soil and climate of Israel. Each of these terms has had a special history of its own, involved in the larger history of Israel itself. What we call the usage or signification of words is simply the resultant of this history, the gathered and treasured associations of thousands of utterances, of endless differ-

entiations of thought and feeling. And the history of such terms in the language of the Bible is necessarily different from the history of the corresponding terms in our own language, by as much as the history of our political, social, and religious institutions has differed from that of the Hebrew people. Words are a kind of spiritual phonograph. Every new association, each added shade of meaning which they commemorate, is an impression made upon and recorded in the most delicate and enduring of all the instruments or appliances of mind and soul, — human speech. And the more intense and profound the thought and the feeling of any people, the more fully charged will its vocabulary be with sentiment and emotion. The Bible is the richest repository of moral and religious experience. But the distinctive phrases which give colour and character to its diction were based upon the inner life of the people, and became ever more imbued with its spirit and flavour as the community changed and developed in its checkered history. It is the high function of linguistic and archæological research, as it turns the sacred roll, to make those long silent voices live again, to reawaken and bring once more to human ears these slumbering "accents of the Holy Ghost."

§ 394. We are now to occupy a few paragraphs with an inquiry into the usage of the leading social and domestic terms of Hebrew literature. From some such study we may now see how we incidentally should gain a fuller and clearer sense of the value of these terms in their application to moral and spiritual facts and ideas in the Bible itself. We shall accordingly not confine ourselves entirely to a discussion of the literal and every-day significance of the words that denote relationship and corporate association among the Hebrews. Such words as *tribe*, *family*, *father*, *mother*, *brother*, *servant*, really play a more important part in the sacred writings in their figurative usage than in their literal application. They are the familiar diction of the higher Hebrew literature — the Prophets,

the Psalms, and the New Testament. Through them the ever-widening conceptions of the moral and spiritual realm have achieved their eternal currency. They furnish the terminology of the new community, the greater Israel, the kingdom of God. In dealing with these later and fuller aspects of such fundamental phraseology, we do not pass beyond the legitimate range of our subject. Just as the Hebrew literature itself is a single undivided whole, so the institutions which it commemorates, and of which it is so largely the outcome, have had an unbroken progressive history. The passage from the outward and material, in the social and religious sphere, to the inward and spiritual, was not sudden and unprepared, but gradual and orderly. We must regard the simple, primitive social and domestic institutions of Israel not merely as types and symbols of that higher organism which has followed and superseded it. They furnished also in large measure its conditions, its groundwork, and its germinal elements. Accordingly, when we think, for example, of the spiritual application of "fatherhood," "brotherhood," "service," we can, on the one hand, only understand their Biblical significance when we have discovered what they stood for in the sphere of social life; and, on the other hand, we have a better apprehension of what such relationships really involved in the ancient Hebrew community when we have traced out the wide and profound symbolism given to them by the poets and seers of the race.

§ 395. The foregoing paragraphs have already suggested to us where we are to look for most of our information as to the social and domestic life of the ancient Hebrews. Direct knowledge comes to us almost wholly from the classical literature of the people. The Bible tells us all that we know of the outward forms of their institutions, and almost all that we can learn of their social usages, as well as of the influences which were at work in their upbuilding as a people. From our familiarity with the sacred writings we have thus perhaps gained a some-

what one-sided view, as in other matters (§ 16), of the character and genius of the ancient life of the Hebrews. We are inclined to think of them as a unique people in all respects; or, at least, to draw a broad line of separation between them and every other community. A brief reminiscence of the book of Genesis will recall every observant Bible reader at once from his error. It is obvious, at least, that the Hebrews must have maintained to a large extent the social habits and traditions of the peoples from whom they sprang (§ 26). We have, as was above suggested (§ 393), to insist upon and minutely register the distinctive features of Hebrew sociology. But the ever-increasing divergence of the tribes of Israel from their progenitors and kindred, which gave them their characteristic stamp in human society, did not sunder them from the general Semitic type, least of all from the tribes and families nearest of kin. And we must go much further than this in reckoning up analogies for the early social and political life of the Hebrews, as well as in gathering illustrations of their tribal and national manners. We shall need to remember that a surprising likeness has always prevailed, and still prevails, throughout the world in the general features of tribal life, especially among nomadic peoples, and also among communities that are passing the earlier years of their fixed settlement in towns and villages. Accordingly, while guarding against absolute assimilation of Semitic conditions to those of non-Semitic peoples, we may find the rudimentary features of primitive Hebrew life variously illustrated from extraneous sources, and more particularly from the genius and habits of the early Greek and Keltic communities. Within the Semitic region the stereotyped tribal constitution of the nomads of Arabia furnishes a nearer and more instructive parallel.[1]

[1] For the typical tribal conditions of Arabian society, see J. L. Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys* (Engl. tr. 1831); A. von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams* (1868), p. 343 ff.; *Culturgeschichte des Orients* (1875–7), vol. i, ch. iii; vol. ii, chs. iii, vi; W. Robertson

§ 396. The two words translated *tribe* and its equivalents in the versions ancient and modern, שבט and מטה,[1] are identical in usage in the Hebrew, except that the former is also significantly used for the principal subdivisions of the tribe (Numb. iv. 18; Jud. xx. 12; 1 S. ix. 21). As preceding and conditioning the tribe was the *clan* or sept (Lat. *gens*, Gr. *φρατρία*, etc.), expressed properly by אלף, literally, a community or association (E. V. "thousand," which the word in question also signifies). The same organization is also often indicated by משפחה,[2] which, however, is the strictly correct term for the subordinate social division of the kin or *family group*. Preceding and underlying the clan, in the simpler forms of society, is this family group, which is made up of the individual families or "father's houses" (בית אב, pl. בית אבות). As we shall have to distinguish sharply between the family group and the clan, we may here note the chief external difference. The family group implies different degrees of relationship, and in it the degree of kinship is fundamental. In the clan, on the other hand, which consists, fundamentally, of individuals, and not of families, degrees of kinship are disregarded, or are, at least, secondary; and kinship itself is only assumed to be present, the uniting bond being really the associations of custom and belief. As the "father's

Smith, *Kinship in Early Arabia* (1885). For the early Greeks, see especially Meyer, GA. II (1893), § 53 ff. For general discussions one may consult C. N. Starcke, *The Primitive Family* (New York, Appletons, 1889); L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (1877), and the articles "Clan" and "Family" in the *Encycl. Britannica*. Most ethnological and anthropological works of a systematic character give information, often of the very highest value, on social conditions among savage and nomadic tribes. Special discussions will be cited further on.

[1] In the so-called "Priestly Code" מטה is the favourite term. For references, see Siegfried and Stade, *Hebr. Wörterbuch*, s.v.

[2] In these cases the clan is alluded to from the point of view of origin; whereas אלף characterizes it as an organization. Accordingly we find that the latter furnishes a special designation for the chief or leader of the clan, the אלוף (E. V. "duke"). Observe that when the clans of the Edomites came to inhabit "cities," the אלוף was transformed into a מלך or "king" (Gen. xxxvi. 31 ff.; cf. § 36).

house" is a subdivision of the family group, it is properly used (as in Gen. xxiv. 40) to designate those most nearly related by blood, or the "family" in the modern sense of the word. On the other hand, the "household" (בַּיִת alone) includes, like its equivalent, the Latin *familia*, the servitors and retainers of the establishment, and is, within its sphere, and after its fashion, the real administrative or political unit. It stands under the control of the house-father, the protector or guardian, who is usually, though not necessarily, the father of the kindred contained in it. It must, accordingly, not be supposed that the clan was constituted by the voluntary binding together of single families.[1] Politically, the family, in the modern sense of the word, never formed an entity in the primitive community. Among unorganized hordes, we find, to be sure, no aggregation higher than the family. But this is, naturally, merely a social institution, since, among such peoples as the Bushmen of South Africa, political life is still undeveloped. From a political point of view, separate family life is inconceivable in any stage of society. A clan, viewed externally, may be thus provisionally assumed to

[1] It does not seem to be yet fully made out whether the earliest clans gradually came into being as organizations through association of individuals already members of families, or whether they were differentiated from unorganized hordes. I am inclined to the former view, though rejecting the patriarchal theory defended by Maine, Spencer, and others, according to which the family was expanded or subdivided as an administrative unit into the clan under the headship of the ancestral chief. Families may in any case have been the actual starting-point and nucleus of the clan (cf. Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, p. 276), as the most obvious groups of individuals likely to be united by common usages. On the other hand, contiguous group-members of the horde might grow up together to the adoption of common customs and religious observances, which would differentiate them from other groups, especially as primitive kinship is known to have been of a very precarious sort. The solution is thus seen to depend upon the question whether or not the family as an institution preceded the combination which resulted in the clans. It should be noted that these discussions do not touch the so-called "patriarchal" stage of ancient Israel, since Abraham and his people belonged to a period of social development subsequent to the conditions in question.

be an association of households, or, possibly, of family groups, and to be neither an accidental aggregation nor a deliberate combination of related families.

§ 397. Attention must first be fixed upon the external features and marks of clanship, and then upon its internal development and its primitive principles. The clan was the centre and basis of the community of Israel, as it was when it adventured itself upon the borders of Canaan. Its constitution is clearly a fundamental matter. Its most obvious mark is, of course, blood-relationship, actual or assumed. But there are other characteristics, less obvious to us moderns, though they are essentially related to the underlying principle. We have already had occasion to remark the influence of religious beliefs and practices upon the social and political life of the Semitic peoples (§ 30; 57 f.; 289 f.; 299). Historically, the phenomenon in question is rooted in the persuasion common to all the primitive communities of the race that a real kinship and fellowship existed between the gods and their worshippers. The deities were not only propitiated by offerings; they were also partakers of the sacrificial meals in common with the offerers, who regarded themselves, moreover, as the children and servants of their gods.[1] Now, as each clan or tribe had its own special deity, it followed that the bond of natural kinship between its members was greatly strengthened by the consciousness of a common association with the tribal divinity. It further came to pass, as a matter of course, that all the rites and ceremonies of religion, and all its practices, both public and domestic, formed additional means and motives of union, as well as recognizable marks of tribal membership. To these must be added, as badges of the clan or tribe, characteristic social customs and usages, less formally of a religious character, and yet invested with the sacredness of religious sanctions, since

[1] See Smith, R. S., Lect. II, where the whole question of the relation of the gods to their votaries, according to the conceptions of the primitive Semites, is treated of by the most competent scholar of our time.

matters of religion and of common life were never divorced among the ancient peoples of the East.

§ 398. But again, the clan, or its expansion, the tribe, was not merely bound together by inner ties of such force and vitality; it was also an alliance against aliens, who, whether organized into similar tribal association or living as "fugitives and wanderers," were equally regarded as natural enemies, from whom the kindly courtesies and the mutual protection that prevailed within the exclusive community were sternly withheld.[1] Practically this offensive and defensive combination against all outsiders, which made the tribal bond such an inviolable union, found expression in the law of "blood-revenge," which was universal among the Semites, as among the ancient Hellenic peoples, and, indeed, in primitive society generally. According to this law, "by the rules of early society, if I slay my kinsman, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, the act is murder, and is punished by expulsion from the kin; if my kinsman is slain by an outsider, I and every other member of my kin are bound to avenge his death by killing the manslayer or some member of his kin. It is obvious that under such a system there can be no inviolable fellowship except between men of the same blood. For the duty of blood-revenge is paramount, and every other obligation is dissolved as soon as it comes into conflict with the claims of blood." [2]

§ 399. Such are the essential external features of clanship or tribalism, some clear apprehension of which is essential to the understanding of the history of Israel. Tribal usages were never fully abandoned by the ancient He-

[1] This is claimed by Cain, the original type of outlaws and non-union men, as the reason why his life would be in danger (Gen. iv. 12, 14; cf. Smith, R. S., p. 252, note 1). And so the "mark" put upon him (verse 15), whatever was its specific character, must have been something which was to indicate that he was under the protection of Jehovah, who would avenge his violent death. Notice also the beautiful plea of the "woman of Tekoa" in 2 S. xiv. 14.

[2] Smith, R. S., p. 254; cf. *Kinship*, p. 22 ff.

brews, nor are they yet completely relinquished by their descendants. On the other hand, it was out of the conflict between tribalism and wider, higher principles, social, political, and religious, that the new order of things was evolved which has given Israel its imperishable significance. In the social sphere, civic life, as far as it was developed (§ 32 ff.), replaced the tent and the encampment. In the political region, the establishment and development of the kingdom and the court led to the abandonment of the councils of the tribal chiefs. In the transcendent realm of religion, the conceptions and teachings of Prophecy found their central issue in their triumphant struggle with tribalism, with its narrow conceptions of ritual and of duty. Thus the God of the clans, the tribes, and the nation of Israel was vindicated in his claim to be the God of all the families and kingdoms of the earth, their Father, their Counsellor, their Protector, and their Judge. Thus also the most germinal and potential idea of ancient tribalism, that of the kinship and fellowship of the members of the clan with their tutelary deity, became itself a kind of prophecy, as it was transmuted and transfigured into the larger conception (Ezek. xxxvii. 27) and the assured reality (Rev. xxi. 3) that He "from whom every clan [1] in heaven and earth has its name" (Eph. iii. 15) should pitch his tent among men, and should dwell with them, and they should be his peoples, and He should be their God. It is with this exulting announcement that the universal brotherhood of Christianity finally parts company with the limitations of Semitism.

§ 400. In the foregoing observations attention has been directed almost exclusively to the clan, and not to the family on the one hand, or the tribe on the other, for the reason that the clan is the fundamental nucleus of political integration and expansion. It is possible now to go further and trace, at least in a general fashion, the development

[1] Gr. πατριά, cf. πάτρα. The thoughtful Greek named the clan not only a "brotherhood" (φρατρία), but a "fatherhood."

of the tribe and of the rudimentary state. The essential distinction between the clan and the family group has been given above (§ 396). The tribe is simply an aggregation of clans. It may be formed of sub-clans that have arisen by descent. Or very frequently it is an assemblage of clans that have come together by mutual consent, and are assimilated in habits and worship. The union, however, is looser than that existing between members of the same clan. Separate clans may be perpetuated within the tribes. Common kinship is quite a secondary matter, and is often a remote afterthought. Nomadic life favours the clan; semi-nomadic or early settled life, the tribe. We may now revert to the constitution and genius of the clan for an explanation of the formation of the larger organizations. The main point is to show the principles and conditions that affected the external changes of social and political aggregations. We start with the clan and its outstanding mark of presumptive kinship. But we must keep in mind the other main features of clanship just mentioned, and also remember that they all go hand in hand; that if any is disregarded or forfeited, the bond of attachment is broken, and that on the other hand a partial fulfilment of the conditions of clanship cannot be accepted as entitling to admission to the brotherhood. We here leave out of sight, as irrelevant to our immediate purpose, the question of the fundamental relations of the family to the clan, while keeping in view the *household* as living within the clan, and yet not being directly one of its genetic or formative units. We take our stand for the present at a point later than the fluctuating and uncertain stage or stages when the conditions were being made up which determined the formation of the clan, and assume its factors and functions to be complete and in normal operation.

§ 401. We are now met with the notoriously universal fact that this social and political organization is in a constant state of flux, expanding or contracting, changing

its local habitat, adding to itself or parting with families or individuals, while all along the association retains its unity and homogeneity unimpaired, and performs all its functions unimpeded. There is involved in this general fact alone the external possibilities of decisive changes in the *personnel*, the numbers, the effective strength of the clan. We may thus be assured that our special subject of study, the community of Israel, for example, became greatly modified in all these respects before it exchanged its tribal constitution for the more stable conditions of civic life. But the question that presses itself upon us is: How was this corporate continuity, this conservation of type and tradition, secured? We see at once in this crucial problem the importance of being able to realize in some degree the genius of ancient and Eastern civilization. Placed as we are now among conditions of life and habit which we call higher and better than those of ancient peoples, and which, in any case, are essentially different from theirs, we are inevitably divided from them by a great negation of intellectual and moral sympathy, which should yet be bridged over by an intelligent appreciation of their manners and usages, of their outlook upon the world, of their needs in body, soul, and spirit. Surrounded as we are by the manifold appliances of our culture, and moving on as we do in an unbroken, perpetual advance in discovery and invention, we wonder how progress was possible to a people whose only movement was made in one unending circle of sentiments and ideas. Protected as we are, and needing protection, even in our peaceful surroundings, by the police of the municipality or the state, we find it hard to understand how primitive homes and communities could be secured against robbery and murder and lust from within, or the onslaught of rapacious enemies from without.[1] We think of ourselves as being regulated and limited by checks and safeguards of all sorts, legal and govern-

[1] Cf. Tylor, *Anthropology* (1881), p. 405.

mental, which yet cannot guarantee even to our Christian society an immunity from the successful practices of the cunning or the greed of our rivals or our associates, and which sometimes threaten to give way altogether under the constant strain of corporate rapacity clashing with the more excusable turbulence of ill-fed and ill-guided masses morally, though not legally, defrauded of the rewards of their toil. And we cannot but be astonished at the stability and permanence of some less-favoured races unblessed by those social, political, and religious institutions that would seem to embody and conserve all the gathered experience and all the well-tried wisdom of all peoples and all ages.

§ 402. Intricate as were the internal relations of the clans, the outstanding conditions of their growth and change were simple enough. Among the essential elements or features of tribal life that have just been named we may make an obvious threefold distinction. We find present and dominant here belief, sentiment, and custom. We see exhibited the sentiment of kinship between the clan members, the belief in the active influence of the patron deity and his vital association with the people, along with other and minor beliefs; and, finally, the various customs within the indivisible sphere of social and religious usage which mark the unity of the clan and impart to it its needed solidity. Now it is evident that these various sentiments, beliefs, and customs would be cherished and conserved, whatever their origin might be, in proportion to the degree in which they would severally tend to the personal security and comfort of the members of the clan, to the coherence and prosperity of the several households, and to the effective strength and growth of the whole community.

§ 403. It is further self-evident that what was really obligatory on the individual clansmen was the fulfilment of the traditional tribal duties, all of which were invested with the sacredness of religious sanction. In other words,

the social customs being of a religious character, and the religious practices being of a social character, the observance of both constituted the sum of public duty. As the clan was supplied from the family groups, with their several households, these customs which mark the homogeneity of the clan continued to be maintained not only on account of their intrinsic claims, but also, and to a great degree, because their perpetuation was essential to the preservation of the clan. The clan therefore was kept up for the sake of the observances, and the observances practically, though not of set purpose, for the benefit of the clan. Moreover, since subsistence, self-preservation, and the defence of auxiliary dependents are the great ends of society, whatever be the outward forms or usages of the community, that type of social life was necessarily maintained and fostered which was found to best secure these indispensable advantages. So it came to pass that the aggregation of family groups which grew up and was maintained without concerted action or prevision of the consequences, and was, therefore, in the strict sense of the phrase, not politically constituted, became, at length, an end in itself. For it was found to secure the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of labour or adventure and of inherited possessions, and to provide leisure, opportunity, and appliances for the practice of ancestral and family observances. Thenceforward, then, it is possible to speak of the political as well as the social functions of the clan, and to perceive how it must be perpetuated as an organization in order to conserve and utilize the primary and fundamental conditions which brought it into being.

§ 404. We are thus brought to a stage in the inquiry where it is proper to speak of the internal make-up and economy of the clan. The security, which has just been referred to as indispensable for continued corporate existence, was, under the conditions of ancient society, unattainable either by the household or the family group. It was, however, provided through the necessary extension

of functions that was realized in the clan, or, rather, by an enlarged application of the conception of social homogeneity, of kinship, and of brotherhood. For the distinctive mark of the clan, in contrast with the family group, is the *adoption of outsiders*, and their assimilation under the guise of factitious kinship to the corporate fellowship and unity of the other clansmen. This potent principle again needs a word of comment. First of all, we need to revert to the distinction that has been made (§ 396) between the "family" in the modern sense of the word and the "household." The former was a social institution inevitably and universally developed of itself by virtue of direct progeniture. The latter was in a strict sense a political combination, involving the administration of a composite body which possessed well-understood and permanent corporate functions.[1] As the household is to the family, so is the clan to the kin or family group. It is hardly necessary to observe that since all political combinations are a matter of gradual growth and differentiation from simpler types, there was no hard and fast line of distinction between these forms of association. Families were continually being integrated into households, and family groups into clans[2] wherever and whenever a more complex condition of society than that of the lowest and simplest came into existence. The household is an especially instructive object for our present purpose, since it exhibits a type of structure very analogous to that of the clan. The essential distinction between the household and the family is, that the former includes, as constituent elements, dependents, helpers, and retainers who are not necessarily within the kin either near or

[1] This definition is put in general terms as characterizing the household everywhere. For the primitive Aryans, see W. E. Hearn, *The Aryan Household* (Longmans, 1891), especially chap. iii.

[2] Notice the usage of the terms explained in § 396; on the one hand בית אב is properly a house under paternal control (*familia*), and משפחה is used for both family group and clan.

remote. The same thing is characteristic of the clan as distinguished from the family group.[1] For the clan is developed not merely by natural expansion of the kin, but also essentially by the absorption of new elements who adopt its badges and traditions, relinquishing the fellowship and forfeiting the privileges of their former associations.[2]

§ 405. Sufficient space has now been taken up with general distinctions, and we must proceed to specify and describe the internal processes of the household and the clan, the two fundamental political units among the Hebrews and their ancient congeners. In this most important region of inquiry there is a great abundance of illustrative material, and we shall have to content ourselves with the most comprehensive of well-ascertained facts. Let us first take the household as being most easily apprehended. The "household" (§ 396) is a small heterogeneous community, whose members, having a diversity of function, are under the control of the

[1] It will be understood that although the family group (which is at best an unstable and transitional association like all other purely social combinations) contains households, and might seem really to consist of them, the alien elements of the household are not recognized as belonging to the kin.

[2] It is a problem which does not greatly concern us here, whether the household preceded the clan and was developed into it, or whether the household was really a later subdivision of the clan. But it may not be out of place to remind the reader that the question is not similar to that involved in the relations of the clan to the family or the family group. While the presumption (see note to § 396) is in favour of the indirect derivation of clans from families, it is not so clear that the clan was developed from households, or that the former was even posterior to the latter. The presumption, however (for in these matters direct evidence is hard to get), is in favour of the transfer of the characteristic principles of clientage and adoption from the smaller body to the larger. As to the Hebrews in particular, the Old Testament favours this hypothesis. For the "Aryans," see Hearn, *op. cit.*, p. 139 ff., 181 ff. After the establishment of the clan, new households were continually branching off within it on the basis of the individual family, and such are the only households known in history.

"house-father"[1] — to borrow an appropriate term from the terminology of Indo-European society. The constituents of the household were, in the first instance, the children of the father and the mother (or, as in the exceptional cases of polygamous marriage, the mothers) along with the parents. Inseparably combined with them as members of the community were also the servants and dependents and guests of the establishment. The household was therefore an adjunct of the family, growing up, primarily, through the urgency of practical needs. Its heterogeneous constitution strikes right across the commonly accepted ideas of kinship, and yet the uniting bond must have been close, since such a community is a permanent and fundamental institution.

§ 406. Moreover, the heterogeneity which at once occurs to us was not so obvious to ancient society. In the first place, the marked social distinctions of our modern civilization were not known to the more simple society of the ancients. In particular, our modern conception of servitude fails to represent the relation that subsisted among ancient peoples, whether Semitic or Aryan, between the slave and his master. Whatever might be the barbarities and the hardships of the slave-trade,[2] when a servant became regularly established in a household his position, though menial, was not degrading. It was only in the more opulent and populous cities of the later times

[1] If the father were dead, the eldest son took the position of household head, as in the case of Laban (Gen. xxiv. 29 ff.). Observe that Abraham's servant does not receive the hospitality of Rebekah's "mother's house" (v. 28) till Laban appears and makes him formally his guest.

[2] The slave-trade was only possible on a large scale, among extensive commercial communities, and the ubiquitous men-stealing raids of the Phœnicians, carried on for the purpose of obtaining galley-slaves as well as plantation hands and dock-labourers for their numerous settlements, extended, as we have seen, to the interior of Israel and Judah (§ 264). Captives taken alive in war naturally became the slaves either of their captors or of outside purchasers. The great Assyrian policy of deportation (§ 283; 288 ff.) must have helped to solve the problem of dealing with prisoners of war, not always to the disadvantage of these unfortunates.

that anything approaching the modern conditions were found. From the days of Abraham and the Damascene Eliezer to those of Philemon and Onesimus, the association in well-regulated households was one of mutual confidence and trust (cf. Job xxxi. 13 ff.). The practical manager of a nomadic household or of a large estate in the later settlements was often a slave who, necessarily, had the respect and, doubtless, sometimes the affectionate regard both of the master and his immediate family. Genesis xxiv. gives a charming picture of what must often have been a real condition of things, and it is difficult to overestimate the beneficent functions performed among a people like Israel by these wards and conservers of the family.[1]

§ 407. Here again we have an exemplification of the rich and instructive significance of the Hebrew term of relationship. How often does the term "servant" or "slave" occur in the Bible in an enlarged and spiritual sense! God himself, the great "house-father," is set forth with especial frequency as the master of a vast and well-ordered household. Even the forces of the universe are his servants, his attendants, who do his pleasure (Ps. ciii. 20 f.). In his control of the great actors in human history, he uses them as his obedient and efficient slaves. Cyrus and Nebuchadrezzar are as much his servants as are Abraham, Moses, and David. The people of Israel, and its choicest representative, the Prophet, Martyr, and Redeemer of his people, are servants of Jehovah. The members of the household of the faith (Gal. vi. 10; cf. Eph. ii. 19) are his special servitors. And in the performance of their functions they are held by obligations precisely analogous to those which bound the slaves of a large Oriental establishment of the ideal Biblical type. Their attitude varies and ranges from the extreme of absolute submission, wholly devoid of servility, to that

[1] Cf. Stade, GVI. I, 377. For ancient slavery generally, see Wallon, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité.*

of implicit confiding trustfulness, never exempt from reverence. This may be here exhibited best and most briefly by an example. Paul calls himself "the slave of Jesus Christ" (Phil. i. 1 *et al.*). Not to multiply illustrations, I may cite the employment of the same circle of images in the closing words of the New Testament, in the description of the reunion of all the members of the one great family, household, clan, tribe, and nation in the one "Father's house." "His slaves shall do him service, and they shall see his face" — the place of privilege, of recognition, of approval, and the attitude of eager and joyful waiting (Rev. xxii. 3 f.). And, to heighten the colour and expressiveness of the picture, it is added, "his name shall be on their foreheads." We think of the brand of slavery, the inscription of the owner's name upon the body of the slave. We recall how the most spiritual and imaginative of the Old Testament prophets had already idealized this immemorial usage to set forth the willing subjection of the surrounding nations to the God of Israel, in the words: "One shall say, 'I am Jehovah's,' and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and another shall write on his hand, 'Jehovah's'" (Isa. xliv. 5 margin). And now at last the seer of Patmos, beholding in prospect the final regeneration and renewal of mankind, embraces in a single apocalyptic glance the whole evolution of human society, from the rudest beginnings of barbaric slavery to the joyful services of the new heavens and the new earth, where the servants are still slaves and yet "kings and priests unto God."

§ 408. Again, the homogeneity of the household was materially promoted by the common relation of subjection or clientage which all its members, bond or free, sustained to the house-father, who controlled and disposed of them, not, it is true, with the inexorable despotism of the ideal Roman *paterfamilias*,[1] yet with an authority

[1] For a clear and concise description of the Roman *familia*, see Mommsen, *History of Rome* (Engl. tr., New York, 1871), vol. I, ch. v. The

which seems to have been limited only by the tolerance naturally developed among peoples long and habitually nomadic, as contrasted with those who, like the Romans, comparatively early attained to fixedness of settlement and permanence of domestic establishment. A brief indication of the character of this *patria potestas* in its extreme exemplification will, perhaps, best show how firmly ancient society was rooted in traditional beliefs and usages.

§ 409. "Father and mother, sons and daughters, home and homestead, servants and chattels — such are the natural elements constituting the household in all cases where polygamy has not obliterated the distinctive position of the mother. . . . None has equalled the Roman in the simple but inexorable embodiment in law of the principles pointed out by Nature herself. . . . To the Roman citizen a house of his own and the blessing of children appeared the end and essence of life. The death of the individual was not an evil, for it was a matter of necessity; but the extinction of a household or of a clan was injurious to the community itself, which in the earliest times therefore

patria potestas had been a subject of study from the days of the old Roman jurists (Gaius lived under the Antonines), but it was reserved for modern sociological science to explain its fundamental character. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (11th edition, 1885), p. 98 ff., points out its distinctive features in the Greek and Roman household, and performs the capital service of showing how it was connected with the religion of "the hearth and of the tomb"; how the guardianship of the sacred family hearth, confided to the house-father, was practically a worship of the ancestral spirits; how the ancestors and the descendants were bound together in an indivisible unity through the male members in the diverging lines of descent; how the family property was by the house-father held in trust for this society of the living and the dead constituted by the cult of its tutelary divinities. From these fundamental facts it follows, we may add, that in the proportion of the sense and appreciation of property must be the degree of power with which the house-father is invested (§ 425). The sense of property was strongest in Rome, and there the *patria potestas* was strongest. For limitations of the sphere of the *patria potestas*, its historical influence, and its gradual relaxation, see Maine, *Ancient Law* (3d New York, from 5th London edition, 1888), p. 131 ff.

opened up to the childless the means of avoiding such a fatality by their adopting, in the presence of the people, the children of others as their own. . . . Man alone could be head of a family. . . . Woman always and necessarily belonged to the household, not to the community, and in the household itself she necessarily held a position of domestic subjection. . . . In a legal point of view, the family was absolutely guided by the single, all-powerful will of the 'father of the household.' In relation to him all in the household were destitute of legal rights — the wife and the child no less than the bullock or the slave. . . . The father of the household not only maintained the strictest discipline over its members, but he had the right and duty of exercising judicial authority over them, and of punishing them as he deemed fit in life and limb. The grown-up son might establish a separate household, or, as the Romans expressed it, maintain his 'own cattle' (*peculium*) assigned to him by his father, but in law all that the son acquired . . . remained the father's property. . . . Indeed, a father might convey his son as well as his slave as property to a third person: if the purchaser were a foreigner, the son became his slave. . . . In reality, the paternal and marital power was subject to no legal restrictions at all. Religion, indeed, pronounced its anathema on some of the worst cases of abuse. For example, whoever sold his wife or his married son was declared accursed; and in a similar spirit it was enacted that in the exercise of domestic jurisdiction the father, and still more the husband, should not pronounce sentence on child or wife without having previously consulted the nearest blood-relations, his wife's as well as his own. But such provisions as these involved no legal diminution of his powers, for the execution of the anathemas was the province of the gods, not of earthly justice; and the blood-relations called in to the domestic judgment were present not to judge, but simply to advise the father of the household in his judicial office. But not only was the power of the

master of the house unlimited and responsible to no one on earth; it was also, as long as he lived, unchangeable and indestructible. According to the Greek as well as to the Germanic laws, the grown-up son, who was practically independent of his father, was also independent legally; but the power of the Roman father could not be dissolved during his life, either by age or insanity, or even by his own free will, except when a daughter passed by a lawful marriage out of the hand of her father into the hand of her husband, and, leaving her own *gens* and the protection of her own gods to enter into the *gens* of her husband and the protection of his gods, became henceforth subject to him as she had been to her father. It was easier, according to Roman law, for the slave to obtain release from his master than for the son to obtain release from his father."[1] In Lubbock's pithy language, "a Roman's 'family' originally, and indeed throughout classical times, meant his slaves, and the children only formed part of the family because they were his slaves, — so that if a father freed his son, the latter ceased to be one of the family, and had no part in the inheritance."[2]

§ 410. Such was the household of the Romans, the best known to us of all ancient domestic institutions, and the foundation and germ of the most comprehensive and thorough-going system of jurisprudence and of social organization which the world has ever seen. We should find it exceedingly instructive to compare it with what is known of other ancient households. The question is of interest to us not merely because of its bearing upon primitive society generally, but especially on account of the religious significance of fatherhood, to which reference will be made later (§ 432). It has been denied that *patria potestas* existed except among the Romans.[3] But

[1] Mommsen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 88–92.

[2] *Origin of Civilization*, etc., 5 ed. 1889, p. 100; cf. p. 73.

[3] Especially by J. F. and D. McLennan, *The Patriarchal Theory* (1885), p. 35 ff. Cf. also *Studies in Ancient History* (1886), p. 132.

as a matter of fact the institution or the customs have been widely prevalent both in ancient and in modern times. Abundant testimony is at hand of its existence, extending even to the right of exposure and sale of children, among the ancient Greeks, Germans, and Kelts. The unbounded power of the house-father in modern Russia and India is notorious.[1] The question arises, how far, if at all, did this authority prevail among the Semites, and particularly the Hebrews?

§ 411. Here again we must make a clear distinction between different stages of civilization and social development. That the "family" was constituted upon an earlier basis of maternal relationship has been asserted by most modern sociologists for primitive races generally, and has been especially claimed for the ancient Semitic tribes by W. Robertson Smith. But it is immaterial for our present purpose whether such a state of society ever existed.[2] What we have to do with is the accessible monuments of Semitic civilization and the testimony they bear as to the condition of the household in times which they illustrate. And particularly we wish to know something of those

[1] For evidence as to the Greeks, see *La Cité antique*, p. 99; for the rest, Hearn, *The Aryan Household* (1891), p. 92 ff.; cf. the usage of terms derived from words for "hand" as presented by Maine, *Early History of Institutions* (New York, 1888), p. 216 f.

[2] The somewhat notable controversy between Sir Henry Maine and Mr. J. F. McLennan turned primarily upon the *origin* of the family as a social and political institution. Maine was certainly right in his claim for the prevalence of the patriarchal type of family life in many parts of the world, but it is quite possible that he was wrong in his assumption that it was the ultimate form of society, which the later types have displaced. McLennan, on the other hand, apparently through his anxiety to refute the "patriarchal theory," went to undue lengths in endeavouring to disprove any form of *patria potestas* among peoples by whom indications of it have been rather obtrusively manifested. It should be added that both parties appeal to instances which are not decisive at all for the purpose which they had in view, — at least, within the Semitic sphere, — since what the Old Testament has to tell us of the Hebrews belongs to a comparatively late stage in Semitic social development. See McLennan as above cited, and Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 118 ff.

aspects of family life which gave form and colour to dominant religious and moral conceptions and relations. The immense significance of the facts in question becomes at once evident when we again call to mind how large a part is played in the religion of the Bible by the relations of fatherhood and sonship, and when we further reflect that the surest key to the meaning of much of the Biblical phraseology is provided by the domestic institutions of the people to whom the word of Jehovah came.

§ 412. As far as the Hebrews are concerned, — with whom our interest more directly lies, — the most obvious source of information is the recorded usage of the family life of those households, whose history has been most fully related in the surviving literature. The widest induction may be made at once from the statement of Gen. xviii. 19, that the great ancestor of the Hebrews was chosen by Jehovah, "in order that he might command his children and his household after him." Accordingly, at the command of Jehovah, Abraham prepares to dispose of the very life of the heir of his household (Gen. xxii.; cf. xv. 2 ff.). He also settles the fate of his other children (Gen. xxi. 14; xxv. 6), born of the secondary wives of inferior rank. In these matters the primary wife makes her wishes known,[1] but even over the children of her own handmaid (female slave) she has no power (Gen. xxi. 10), not even over the handmaid herself, whose banishment, along with her son, is executed by the father of the household. In like manner Isaac has control of the destiny of his oldest son Esau, even after the marriage of the latter (Gen. xxvii.; cf. xxvi. 34 f.). Nor is it easy to see how the patriarchal blessing could be either given or withheld, unless the paternal authority remained with the head of the household till the day of his death. Again, though Rebekah advises the younger son Jacob to go to his Aramæan kindred, he has to appear before his father, who "commands" him formally

[1] This transaction is regarded as an "order" by McLennan, *Patriarchal Theory*, p. 48.

to the same effect, and "sends him away" (Gen. xxviii. 1, 5). The subsequent story is made much of by McLennan[1] and W. R. Smith,[2] who attempt to show that Jacob contracted a "beenah marriage" (by which the husband transfers himself to the family of his wife) with the daughters of Laban. But they have entirely misconceived the nature of the relations. Jacob became a member of the family of Laban, and actually worked as his servant, because he had no choice but to come under the authority of the head of whatever household he might attach himself to. For a month he was a guest, but after this term (probably the conventional period) of hospitality, Laban recognizes the permanent relation of servitude, and just because he was a kinsman, he proposes that he should have a fixed wage (Gen. xxix. 14 f.). In support of his contention, McLennan further says: "We find, first, that Jacob had to buy his place in Laban's family, as husband of Laban's daughters, by service; and second, that the children born to him belonged to Laban's family, and not to him, both notes of *beenah* marriage, and the second denoting it beyond possibility of mistake." Rather, we should say, the fact that the children were claimed by Laban as his own is an indication, and a very striking one, of the *patria potestas*. The claim is in fact asserted by Laban in a most positive manner (xxxi. 43; cf. 28 f.), and Jacob was so much convinced of the soundness of it, that he could only escape from Laban's rightful jurisdiction by a secret flight.

§ 413. The episode of the theft of the teraphim by Rachel is another interesting parallel with the Roman household, where the *Lares* and *Penates* were the essential bond of solidarity in the ancestral community. Rachel's object in securing them was apparently to have the new household brought under the protection of the *manes* which had guarded and blessed her paternal home. This was in her view quite possible and natural. Jacob had been adopted into her father's family, and when in posses-

[1] *Patriarchal Theory*, p. 42 ff. [2] *Kinship*, p. 176.

sion of the tutelary images, he might well be expected to enjoy their patronage. The prominence given to this incident in the history of the founders of Israel (in spite of the renunciation of Gen. xxxv. 2) goes to show that the descendants of Jacob through Rachel ascribed for many generations considerable importance to the transfer of these ancestral guardians from Aram to Israel. Our special point here, however, is the indication given by the whole story that as long as Jacob's wives lived with their father, they, as well as their husband, were subject to him, and that only upon their departure was a new household set up, for which the teraphim were to furnish the necessary auspices. Moreover, it is clear that in the transaction Rachel did not act for herself, as in a *beenah* marriage, but for her husband. Indeed, Laban illustrates the marital aspect of *patria potestas* when he reminds Jacob (xxxi. 49 f.) that the latter has absolute power thenceforth over his wives. Lastly, the former state of things under the paternal régime of Laban is recognized in the very phraseology of that touching description of the final parting, when it is said (ver. 55) that "Laban kissed his sons and his daughters and blessed them." McLennan is of course right in claiming that relationship through daughters as well as through sons was recognized, though we must remember that this was not the only ground upon which Laban "claimed his daughters' children as his own";[1] since Jacob the father, when adopted into the household, became a male member of it. But it is not necessary to *patria potestas* that kinship through the male line only should be recognized. What is involved in it is that *legal* relationship is reckoned only through the male, and not through the female descendants. But of this, more presently.

§ 414. Jacob's family having been thus established as a separate household, its history also is given with more than usual fulness. The narrative shows that while the

[1] *Patriarchal Theory*, p. 47.

range of freedom that was absolutely necessary to the life of shepherds was granted to the children, they yet, when under the direct oversight of their father, were subject to his commands. The disposal of important affairs rests ultimately with the father, and not with any or all of the grown-up sons. In the management of the expeditions to Egypt for food, the sons seem to be merely trustees or agents for the father, the head of the huge household of families (see especially Gen. xliii. 11 ff.). McLennan, as John Locke did before him in his controversy with Sir Robert Filmer,[1] makes much of the fact that Reuben offered his sons as hostages to Jacob for the safe return of Benjamin; and that Judah actually became surety for it. As to this, Locke is quoted as saying, "which all had been vain and superfluous, and but a sort of mockery, if Jacob had had the same power over every one of his family as he had over his ox or his ass." And McLennan says:[2] "They show much deference to their father, no doubt; but they address him like men that have a right to be listened to, and, for the general good, press him and almost coerce him into a course he was most averse to." But is moral influence and persuasion on the part of children excluded by *patria potestas?* Even among the Romans it was prescribed not that the father was *bound* to repress the wishes of his children, but that he had the *power* to do so if he willed it. Neither Locke nor McLennan would have maintained that all the young Romans who made a career for themselves (young Caius Marius, for example, who broke away from the plough to wield the sword) refrained from exercising any sort of influence upon the *patres familiarum.* *Patria potestas* did not make moral nonentities of the sons of Romans any more than it did of the mother of the Gracchi or of the daughter of Cicero. An apt illustration of this moral liberty of the member of the family within the realm of parental control, is furnished by the sons of Eli, of whom it is said —

[1] See *Patriarchal Theory*, p. 36 ff. [2] *Ib.* p. 40.

and that while they were grown men — that "they were cursing God (Sept.), and he did not make them give up" (1 Sam. iii. 13). To conclude the family history of Jacob, it should be noticed that after the paternal blessing and the parting charges, and after the death of the doughty old patriarch, the older sons recalled the fact that their father had left a positive command with them before he died (Gen. l. 16 f.).

§ 415. Passing on to the time of the Judges, it is worth mentioning that in spite of Gideon's independence of action against the worship of Baal, the young innovator was reckoned by the followers of Baal to be at the disposal of his father (Jud. vi. 30). In the early regal period we are struck by Saul's treatment of his son Jonathan (1 Sam. xx. 30 ff.), when the latter seemed to be intriguing with David. This might be accounted for on the supposition that Saul was here acting as a king and not as a *pater-familias*, this having certainly been the case in an earlier instance of threatened punishment (1 Sam. xiv. 44). But the similar incident, when David was the intended victim, reminds us that both he and Jonathan were members of the *household* of Saul when the acts of violence were performed; the attempt on the life of David having been made before he was outlawed by the proclamation of the king (1 Sam. xix. 1), and he in fact being treated as one of the king's sons (cf. 1 Sam. xx. 25 ff. with 2 Sam. ix. 11). Thereafter in the recorded history of Israel we have but few glimpses of domestic life apart from the regal households, in whose management it is difficult to distinguish between the kingly and the paternal authority; the most conspicuous instance being the relations between David and his sons.

§ 416. But a decisive indication of fundamental customs is afforded by the story of the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv.). These people had held, in the middle of the ninth century B.C., their abode somewhere between Jezreel and Samaria (2 K. x. 15 ff.). Jonadab, their chief at that

date, had enjoined upon his descendants to all generations that they should keep themselves free from all the habits and employment of agriculture and civic life, drink no wine, build no house, and sow no seed — all this so that they might escape the enervating influences of that form of civilization which has always been injurious to those nomadic peoples who have in Palestine renounced the immemorial traditions and customs of the desert and the pasture land. With such tenacity was this conservative principle maintained among the clan that, nearly three hundred years after Jonadab, none of "the sons of the house of the Rechabites" would bate one jot of the faith they had so sternly kept with their ancestral head who still ruled their spirits from his tomb. We may explain this devotion as the expression of the fanatical prejudice of a sect, and yet we cannot account for the singular persistence of the belief and the habit except upon the ground alleged by the Prophet, deference to the paternal command. These Rechabites, of the Kenite stock (1 Chr. ii. 55), though not descended from Jacob, were, at an early date (Jud. iv. 11, 17 ff.; v. 24), the twelfth century B.C., very good Hebrews and an important part of the nation (cf. § 186). Such a deeply rooted principle as this, however it might vary in its application, was of course not confined to a small nomadic circle. We have accordingly very good reason to suppose that the head of the nomadic household exercised not only a moral influence upon his family, but also a prescriptive restraint, which had all the force of statutory law.

§ 417. The historical testimony of the Old Testament is clearer as to the status of the children of the household than as to that of the wife or mother, though, as we have incidentally seen, all the evidence of the narratives is in favour of the hypothesis of the supremacy of the house-master in both relations. We shall now take a glance at the specific laws and institutions which have to do with the status and relations of the wives and mothers of the

household among the Hebrews. As bearing upon the function and condition of the wife, allusion may be made to the custom by which the nearest of male kin in a deceased husband's family was bound to marry the widow for the sake of perpetuating the name and family of the dead man. Nothing more plainly indicates the secondary position of the wife from the legal point of view than this deep-rooted institution. The kindred of the wife are shown to be as dead to her in law as they were in ancient Roman society. McLennan's attempt to derive the levirate custom from polyandry[1] is, at least in the case of the Hebrews, very precarious. The doubly or multiply married woman is here evidently only the necessary connecting link between the original husband as the family representative and the much coveted descendants. There was, in fact, no other way of securing the perpetuation of his family except by means of the device of levirate marriage and its extension to even more remote kindred than the brothers of the deceased. And those who reject the derivation from primitive polyandry, and abide by the hypothesis of an established fiction of paternal descent, have no more difficulty in accounting for the origin of that fiction than they have in explaining the simulated sonship of adoption — the exact counterpart of the simulated fatherhood of the levirate household, and a usage of far wider range and influence among ancient peoples, than the latter ever could become.

§ 418. There are but scanty indications in the Old Testament laws and customs as to the earliest Hebrew conceptions of the marital relation. But the evidence is strongly in favour of the assumption that the wife was held, from the old Semitic times, to be the property of the husband. The first argument is to be drawn from the terminology of the relation. The immemorial word for "husband" in Hebrew and the cognate idioms is *baʿal*, a lord or owner, and the corresponding verbal root means

[1] *Patriarchal Theory*, p. 156 ff.

universally to rule or possess, and in Hebrew in the passive as applied to the woman, to be married. It is needless to furnish many examples in the Old Testament: see, for instance, Gen. xx. 3; Hos. ii. 16; Isa. lxii. 4, and the whole phraseology of the legal sections, and compare 1 Pet. iii. 6: "Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord." That in Arabic and Aramaic the same verbal root means "to possess a wife or concubine" is highly significant, when it is remembered, on the one hand, that concubines were slaves of the husband, and on the other, that a female slave might become the lawful wife of her owner. An argument may also fairly be based upon the language of the tenth commandment of the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 17), in which, among the most valuable items of personal property, the wife is mentioned, and actually placed between the house and the domestic animals. There seems indeed reason to believe that according to primitive custom the wife or wives were bequeathed to the care of the eldest son along with the other chattels.[1]

§ 419. Further, the means employed to secure a wife in primitive times furnish a striking illustration of the general principle. The method was essentially one of purchase, which in the case of Jacob and the daughters of Laban was commuted into servile labour to the same purpose. The term translated "dowry," in Gen. xxxiv. 12; Ex. xxii. 16, means purchase money. That this was not always literally insisted on by the father or other guardian of the bride, and that, as in the case of Rebekah (Gen. xxiv.), the contract was just as readily ratified by the giving of presents, is only what would be naturally expected. But that the fundamental usage could be enforced at any time is shown from the conditions prescribed by Saul for David (1 Sam. xviii. 25), in connection with the suit for his daughter Michal. That the father of the

[1] Hence, the action of Reuben (Gen. xxxv. 22; xlix. 4), of Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 20 ff.), and of Abner, Saul's cousin (2 Sam. iii. 7 f.), was regarded as an attempt at usurpation. See Nowack, HA. I, 348.

bridegroom was looked to for the procuring of the bride (*e.g.* Jud. xiv. 3), indicates both the paternal power of the head of the house and the subjection of the newly expected member of the family. Pointing in the same direction are the privileges of divorce granted to the husband. The most explicit prescription on the subject is Deut. xxiv. 1, aimed at disgraceful or offensive conduct (cf. the same phrase in xxiii. 14, which has its explanation in xxiii. 9). With this passage compare Jer. iii. 1. and Isa. l. 1, and the command in Matt. v. 31. Add to this the enactments as to the fulfilment of vows made by wives, given in Numb. xxx. These are summarized as follows (v. 13): "Every vow and every binding oath to afflict the soul her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void." Finally, we may defer to the statement of Paul (Rom. vii. 1 f.), who affirms directly that according to the usage of his nation the wife is legally subject to the husband.

§ 420. Exceptional instances must be looked at narrowly, for it is just such cases that are chosen by the deniers of *patria potestas* among the Hebrews to prove their contention. In apparent contravention of recognized laws and usages, women in the historical times of Israel appear to have enjoyed a considerable range of freedom and independence of action. While the father had the power to choose and procure a wife for his son or a husband for his daughter, young people are seen to mix freely enough with one another, and virtually to do the choosing for themselves (cf. Numb. xxxvi. 6). Again, in the case of married women, we observe that the initiative is sometimes taken by them in matters of importance, and what is more significant they would appear to be at liberty to dispose of a share of the common property (1 Sam. xxv. 14 ff.; 2 K. iv. 8 ff.; cf. Isa. iii. 12, 16 ff., xxxii. 9 ff.; Prov. xiv. 1, and especially xxxi. 10 ff.). The explanation of this phenomenon does not lie upon the surface of the historical records; but, as we shall see presently, it

is connected with the deepest and most potential forces in the life of Israel.

§ 421. The experience of the Israelitish family in this respect is in its outward aspect not without historical parallel. Indeed, the very best analogy is afforded by the history of that very civilization whose family life furnishes the extreme ancient exemplification of marital control. The original prescriptions as to marital government, and the legal powers which they perpetually carried with them, throughout the history of ancient Rome, must be carefully distinguished from the actual practice that inevitably grew up with the expansion of the state and the differentiation of social habits and relations. Thus under the Roman law, while a widow could inherit property along with the children, both she and the other females of the family were debarred from its administration. Yet we find that at the end of the third century B.C. both the marital and tutorial powers were frequently set at nought by both widows and married women with respect to their property; and in 169 B.C. they had accumulated so much capital that the statesmen of the time resorted to the expedient of prohibiting to women, by statute, the right of inheritance. The law was thus actually made more stringent than it had been even in the days when the household laws were framed, and when the idea of emancipation of women was a thing quite inconceivable.[1] Yet both traditional sanctions and legislation were ineffective. The marital power of discipline was generally held in abeyance in all the later history; and the prerogative of the wife was gradually enlarged through various devices, chief of which was the persistence of the bride in remaining under the *manus* of her own family head, so that she could legally continue a member of the household of her birth.[2] The lamentable results, in the ever-increasing laxity of the marriage

[1] See Mommsen, *History of Rome* (Eng. tr.), II, 482.

[2] Cf. Hearn, *The Aryan Household*, p. 471.

bond and the frequency of divorce, contributed largely to the internal dissolution of the Roman state.

§ 422. It is interesting, further, to observe how, in Babylon and Assyria also, the primitive bonds were relaxed which restricted the privileges of women, and which were forged in the old Semitic camp before the dispersion of the united family (cf. § 418). So far as we have direct evidence, the "emancipation" was particularly effected in the sphere of business relations. Unfortunately, we have clear testimony on the subject so far only from the documents of the later historical times, and it is as yet impossible to learn at what stage in the development of society independence of action began to be accorded to women. Among the juridical inscriptions of which such an abundance is already at the disposal of Assyriologists, frequent instances are furnished of business relations maintained independently by women both married and single. For details I can only here refer to the critical works which have made the facts accessible and the subject intelligible even to the lay reader.[1] Besides inheriting and controlling their own property, they are, in this class of documents, conspicuous as money-lenders.

§ 423. A singular phenomenon, as unique in modern as in ancient civilization, requires at least to be alluded to in this connection. I refer to the elevation of women to the highest social and civil positions, even among communities that refuse to them the exercise of elementary political functions. No complete explanation of the facts can as yet be given. It is easier to account for the part played by prophetesses in ancient Israel and elsewhere, for such an office does not directly imply or involve social elevation. More difficult is it to explain the origin of

[1] Of the publications of texts of business documents, the most important is J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften des Nabonidus*, Leipzig, 1889. For selections with translations and comments, see J. Oppert and J. Ménant, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, Paris, 1877; and especially F. E. Peiser, *Keilschriftliche Actenstücke*, 1889, and *Babylonische Verträge*, 1890.

"queens," who still persist as an institution in many communities, civilized and uncivilized, to the present day, and who were frequent also among the ancient Semites, especially among the northern and southern Arabians.[1] Similar was the appearance of women as "judges" in early Arabia,[2] and at least once among the Hebrews (Jud. iv., v.). The hypothesis may be well founded which ascribes the usage to a more primitive state of general female predominance. In any case these abnormities are not the result of the causes which have led to the enfranchisement of women. But, on the other hand, they are not consistent with the usages of communities, such as those of later Arabian times, in which women are the virtual slaves of men.

§ 424. One or two general remarks are necessary at this point. At a certain stage in the history of every community that has permanently risen above savagery, the predominance of the husband and father in the family is found already established by statute or by recognized usage. Whatever may have been the relative standing of the mother in the community before its arrival at this stage, her position is now fixed and determined by the interests of the primitive state. The wife, as being the mother, now exists and is maintained and protected for the sake of the perpetuation of the family. The husband is necessarily the absolute controller of the whole household; but his practical relations to wife and children are varied in different communities. From the fundamental rule of absolute subjection there are far greater deviations among various races and peoples in the case of the wife than are found in the case of the children. In ancient society there was practically little difference anywhere in the relations of the children to the house-father. In the case of the wives, although theoretically the husband had the ultimate control, general social conditions materially

[1] Cf. § 334 and W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 104 and 171.

Kinship, *l.c.*

affected their actual status in the household. Polygamy, for example, when practised within narrow limits, tended for a time to give comparative freedom to the wives, because the attention of the husband and father could not be so strongly concentrated upon each individual group of children with their several mothers, as necessarily was the case with a single family group and the one mother. It was among the monogamous Romans that the strictest type of the marital as well as of the paternal relation was evolved. On the other hand, polygamy as perpetuated among any people, and virtually limited only by the ability to support the household, tends to the subjection of the wives through their moral degradation. This is exemplified among the mediæval and modern Arabs as contrasted with the early Hebrews, the ancient society of the peninsula having apparently had more resemblance to that of ancient Israel. A nomadic life, however, is apt to retard the emancipation of women, for the reason that there is little scope afforded for their interests and activities in their monotonous round of family service, and the stationary, unprogressive course of life in which the children have to play their parts. For as the wife originally received her status as being the *materfamilias*, so her appreciation, her increasing prerogative, in a word, her emancipation, is due to the development of the family as a whole; above all, to the awakening of ambition in the souls of the children through the enlargement of their career and the opening up of unlimited opportunities of activity and influence.

§ 425. We lay stress on the relations of nomadic life, because they were the unseen foundations on which later society was constructed, as their traditions and their inherited terminology equally attest. But we are more directly concerned with the transitions to settled civilization, and the social changes which accompanied the tribal and national development of the Hebrew people. And in this connection we may observe that the early family legislation of the Hebrews corresponds to their contempo-

raneous stage of social development pretty much as the early constitution of Rome represented its stage of national advancement. This may account for the general similarity in the provisions made under the two systems for dealing with wife and children. In other words, it was the sense of the vital importance of the newly acquired *property* which led to the statutory provisions concerning the family. Legislation is, strictly speaking, not necessary among nomads, and among them, as a matter of fact, usage takes its place. But where a permanent settlement has been made, and landed possessions have been acquired, first by the clans and then by the families, to whom they come to be permanently allotted, the conditions are essentially changed. The conventions and agreements that are made between clan and clan or family and family for the adjustment of concurrent claims involve as their necessary complement the gradual institution of family laws. The family or household is identified with the property; and in absolute accordance with the principle of civic government which succeeded to the patriarchal rule, the house-master becomes the controller of the whole. Hence primitive laws about the disposition of wives and children are necessarily rigorous. And it was just among the people that had and continued to have the strongest sense of property that the marital and paternal prerogatives were the completest and most imperious. What enormous consequences resulted from the conception of the relations of the family and the home in the Roman state, which was in its essence merely the reproduction and amplification of the constitution of the household, the political and social history of the whole Western world reveals and attests. In the constitution of the Hebrew family, also, as modified by its settlement in Canaan, we shall find the subsequent history of the people implicitly and potentially contained. There lay the secret spring of their racial vitality, their patriotism, their national solidarity. As we shall see presently, it gave also form and colour to their literature.

§ 426. What we specially observe in the Hebrews as contrasted with other ancient peoples is, not merely the retaining of the rigorous legal bonds by which the wife was subjected to the husband, but the establishment of a relation of moral equality between them along with a real community of feeling and unity of aim and purpose. Without doubt this was profoundly connected with the worship of Jehovah and its elevating and purifying influences. And now we may see clearly the social background of the manifold diversified representations given us of the relations of Jehovah to his people,[1] as set forth under the guise of conjugal associations. This is not the place to particularize. But just observe how here again the claim of ownership and authority is asserted even over the spouse that has wilfully wandered farthest from the love and care of the husband, as in the infinitely pathetic and significant story of Hosea's marital experiences and its application to Jehovah's relations with his people. Ownership is expressed even in the act of disowning (Hos. ii. 2 ff.). On the other hand, we may see how the tenderness and affection of an ideal, and we may be sure not uncommon, Hebrew marriage is used to image forth the inalienable and inextinguishable affection of Jehovah for his people. Isaiah liv., that wonderful idealization of the marriage bond, presupposes an elevation and transfiguration of woman in her relation to man as high and beautiful as that which has been achieved in our Christian civilization. And the comprehensiveness of the picture is as admirable and touching as the intensity and tenderness of feeling displayed in its colouring. All that awakens interest, sympathy, and chivalric regard in

[1] "Jehovah's land," so closely identified in the Hebrew conception with the people of Jehovah, is likewise associated with its Lord, its true Ba'al, by the terms of the marriage relation. See Isa. lxii. 4. It was a common notion among the Semitic peoples (W. R. Smith, RS. p. 95 ff.) that the land was the spouse of its *ba'al*. It was left to the Hebrews to spiritualize and refine this conception, with so many other traditional ideas.

the vicissitudes of Jewish womanhood is brought before us by a single stroke of the pencil — the blushing shame of the slighted maiden, the reproach of the isolated widow, the hopeless grief of the deserted spouse (v. 4, 6). One central word gathers up the elements and motives of the affection and devotion of the husband: Jehovah, who is the husband-lord (cf. Jer. xxxi. 32) of his people, is also their "Redeemer" their *Goël* (v. 5), the vindicator of family rights, the champion of the abandoned, the wronged, and the oppressed. A sociological fact of Hebrew domestic life stands out here as clearly as do the spiritual lessons of the passage: it is the husband that is the emancipator of the wife. The primary traditional authority is not foregone; but it yields at length to the diviner power of personal regard and loyal devotion. It is no great psychological interval that separates the Prophet of the Exile from the Apostle of the early Christian age. In one breath Paul asserts the headship of Christ over his Church, and his love and sacrifice for it, along with the authority of the husband over the wife, and the love with which he should cherish her; while, like his great prototype, he makes the human relation the counterpart of the divine (Eph. v. 22 ff.).

§ 427. A few words must be added as to the specific relations of the children to the parents. We have seen that, as far as the testimony of the narrative portions of the Old Testament is concerned (§ 412 ff.), the power of the father was reckoned to be absolute. The meagre provisions of the legislation confirm this view of the paternal right. In the all-important matter of marriage the father could espouse either the son or the daughter to whomsoever he wished (Ex. xxi. 9 f.; cf. Jud. xiv. 2 ff.; 1 Sam. xviii. 17 ff., 27, xxv. 44; 2 Sam. iii. 13 ff.). As to the daughters, the whole system of procedure indicates that they were originally regarded and treated as slaves of the father. Thus brides were purchased by their suitors from their fathers, and though, no doubt, the rule came

often to be relaxed or broken, yet we find it enforced in the eighth century B.C. (Hos. iii. 2; cf. Ex. xxi. 7 f.), in a case when it was necessary to make the covenant especially binding. In general, the daughters of the family were, to use the classical phraseology, restricted both in *familia* and *pecunia*. As to the former disability, we may notice the fact that in the numerous genealogical lists of the Hebrews a female progenitor is scarcely ever mentioned. The most striking illustration of the principle is afforded by the genealogical tables given in Matthew i. and Luke iii., which were drawn up so many centuries after the foundations of Hebrew society were laid. Their restriction in *pecunia* is exhibited just as plainly in the special provisions made for their inheritance of property. It was only when there were no sons in the family that they could inherit at all; and then there was put upon them the further limitation that they, with their property, were to be at the disposal of men of their own tribe alone (Numb. xxvii. 8; xxxvi. 2 ff.). In the first instance they were deprived of co-ordinate rights with men, and, secondly, they were treated as appendages and auxiliaries of the tribe as well as of the household. Their condition, as a whole, is a corollary from the status of the wives and mothers of the community, a direct evolution of the principle that the primary function of woman was to serve her people through the bearing and rearing of children. Hence marriage was regarded by every maiden in Israel as the normal and ideal state. By it she was appreciated; in it she realized her mission.

§ 428. The treatment of sons differed from that of daughters, not in virtue of the theoretical constitution of the household, but in consequence of the functions of the former as family representatives and prospective house-fathers. Great significance must be attached to the prerogatives of the first-born. To him came a double portion of the inheritance (Deut. xxi. 17), with the duty of

maintaining the religious rites of the household, and of supporting the women of the family. Hence the prestige that invested the eldest son from childhood. Among other weighty results, it was this principle that made hereditary chieftainship and kingship possible. Hence, in general, the fateful consequences of the alienation of the birth-right.[1] These, in conjunction with the ultimate and supreme authority of the house-father, are imaged forth most powerfully in the classical example of the sons of Isaac. With all this accords the legal prohibition of interference, in any case, with the rights of primogeniture (Deut. xxi. 15-17). Such a high prerogative is, of course, dependent upon and subordinated to the cardinal principle of family headship. This is illustrated from the fact that in the eye of the law the heir himself was, after all, only a slave of his father — as we are reminded by one familiar with both Jewish and Gentile law and custom, writing near the close of the ancient régime.[2]

§ 429. The social and legal position of the first-born also plays a great part in the Hebrew religion and ritual. The whole of the people of Israel, as owing their life to Jehovah and as being his peculiar possession among the nations of the earth, were viewed as the first-born of Jehovah. This consideration explains the symbolical and vicarious function of the eldest born of the family as being dedicated to God, and, also, the ceremony of his redemption. As a symbol of the pre-eminence of the first-born in right and authority the usage of the term is famil-

[1] This was perhaps always theoretically within the right of the house-father, though we have examples of it only in patriarchal times (Gen. xxvii., xlviii. 14 ff., xlix. 3 f.). Yet this was the prerogative by which the kingly succession was taken from Adonijah as well as Absalom by David and given to Solomon.

[2] "The heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a slave, though he is lord of all" (Gal. iv. 1). Hearn (*The Aryan Household*, p. 91) acutely remarks that Paul addressed this observation to a people among whom the Roman conception of *patria potestas* was exceptionally exemplified, according to the express statement of Gaius, i. 55.

iar. See especially Ex. iv. 22; Jer. xxxi. 9; Ps. lxxxix. 27. Like other terms of relationship, this, also, is transferred to higher spiritual conceptions, even the highest and most sublime. Christ, as the only Son of God, was one for whom no redemption was possible. Indeed, in his mediatorial function He becomes himself the Redeemer of his human brethren, their Leader in suffering and triumph, their Archetype, and therefore the first-born among them all (Heb. ii. 10 ff.; Col. i. 18; Rom. viii. 29). The symbol reaches the extreme limit of its application when, in view of the completeness and universality of his redemption He is called the first-born of the whole creation (Col. i. 15). Another figure, equally bold and magnificent, is employed when the children of God, exalted alike to pre-eminent rank and privilege, are called "the general assembly and church of the first-born" (Heb. xii. 23).

§ 430. The preceding observations are little more than an attempt to gather and utilize some of the more important applications of the principal terms of relationship among the Hebrews. An exhaustive treatment of the subject would be of the highest value, for into these terms has been interfused the spirit of the immemorial traditions of the people.[1] The comprehensive and dominant idea is, of course, that of the family bond. In connection therewith it may be well to emphasize what has already been frequently suggested, that the physical idea of parentage is not the only, perhaps even not the principal, notion, associated with the terms for "father" and "mother," at any stage in their history. Moreover, the respective spheres of the parents are not mutually exclusive. In the conception of the father, authority and protec-

[1] I would suggest to Biblical students who have not yet taken up the subject, to begin by going carefully through the treatment of the articles אָב, אֵם, בֵּן, בַּת, in Brown's *Gesenius*, studying the references, and collating them, in chronological order, in the light of sound philological and historical principles.

tion predominate; in that of the mother, love, care, and tenderness. And yet fatherhood is not infrequently invested with tenderness and pity,[1] while motherhood is sometimes a type of authority. In the latter case, however, a distinction must be made: the father commands, the mother instructs and directs (*e.g.* Prov. vi. 20). Still, in certain spheres appropriate to maternal influence the initiative may be taken by the mother. These are particularly the provinces of religious and moral education and the region of domestic life. An extreme instance, suggested by the former, is Hannah's determining the priestly career of her son (1 Sam. i.). Another, suggested by the latter, is Hagar's providing a wife for Ishmael (Gen. xxi. 21), though this was apparently in accordance with the ideas of female independence prevalent among the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes on the southern borderland of Palestine (cf. Job xlii. 15; Prov. xxxi. 1, 10 ff.). The usage of the words for son and daughter, on the other hand, brings into special view obedience, honour, and reverence.

§ 431. What I wish, however, to emphasize is, that such terms of relationship embrace ideas that go far beyond the mere notion of kinship. For example, the father is, in general, a protector and guardian. The term is specially applied also to the patron of a class or guild,[2] (Gen. iv. 20 f.), and quite freely besides to priests (Jud. xvii. 10; xviii. 19), prophets (2 K. ii. 12; vi. 21; xiii. 14; Isa. xliii. 27), and counsellors (Gen. xlv. 8; cf. Isa. ix. 5).[3] It is, in fact, doubtful whether the word

[1] So also the rôle of motherhood is attributed to Jehovah by the Second Isaiah (Isa. lxvi. 13).

[2] Correlative are, of course, such phrases as "sons of the Prophets," and the frequent Assyrian term, "sons of architects" for builders and workmen generally, *e.g.* the builders of the ark, *Deluge Tablet*, line 81; cf. Jensen, *Babylonische Kosmologie*, p. 414.

[3] In Isa. ix. 5, observe the parallelism between the phrase "everlasting father," used of the Messiah, and the preceding "a wonder of a counsellor" (cf. § 726).

was originally restricted to fathers alone, and whether it was not rather like the Aryan word *patar*, in this sense specialized from a more general meaning.[1] In further illustration of the far-reaching scope of domestic and social terminology, I may be permitted to cite the well-known fact that the "religion of Confucius" was based upon an observance of the three fundamental laws of relationship, those of sovereign and subject, father and child, husband and wife. The social and religious life of China as well as of Japan, which adopted and extended Confucianism, has been, in great measure, determined by a development of the cardinal ideas of such relations. Of course this great teacher found the institutions already in existence in the sixth century B.C. But his work was to seize upon the ideas already associated with the terms in question, and emphasize and extend them so that society should crystallize itself about them. How different from our own are the ideas of sovereign and subject prevailing in China with its paternal despotism and its semi-deification of the emperor! How natural it was that Confucianism should unite in Japan with Mikadoism, or belief in the Mikado's divine descent, and that as a result of that syncretism the relation of lord and retainer came to be paramount over the others, even over that of father and child! Thus we find in the remotest east of Asia the extreme development of tyranny and servility so characteristic of Oriental peoples generally. This may suggest at how great a cost the refined politeness of the Oriental with its essential obsequiousness has been acquired. Again recurring to the light thrown upon such subjects by current phraseology, it may be observed that the Japanese language has no word for brother apart from the cardinal distinction between younger and older brother.[2]

§ 432. The discussion of the status of the first-born (§ 428) has already brought out something of the spiritual

[1] See Hearn, *The Aryan Household*, p. 281 ff.

[2] See Griffis, *The Religions of Japan* (1895), p. 126 ff.

significance of the relations of fatherhood and sonship. It is these relations which have, perhaps, contributed most largely to the framework of metaphor and symbol about which has been woven the sublime fabric of the moral and religious teaching of the Bible. In them we have the key to the understanding of that larger spiritual nomenclature which embraces the whole earth and links it with the Fatherhood in Heaven. Oriental society and religion, including Semitism, are based upon paternalism. The worship of Jehovah has utilized this relation to the full. But, at the same time, it softened, humanized, and glorified it according to the essential nature of Jehovah himself. Two broad facts or tendencies of the Biblical teaching may be particularized. They are both in complete harmony with the social, moral, and religious development of the Hebrew people and of the race. One is that the Hebrew conception of sonship and fatherhood becomes more special, individual, and personal in the progress of sacred history and of Revelation. First we see God revealing himself as the Father of all the tribes and families of the earth.[1] Then he declares himself to be, in a special sense, the Father of the people of Israel, the child of privilege and choice (Ex. iv. 22; Deut. xxxii. 6; Hos. xi. 1; Jer. xxxi. 20; Isa. lxiii. 16; lxiv. 8; Mal. ii. 10; cf. § 429). Again, he appears as the Father of individuals highly distinguished by his favour and protection, as the theoretic King (2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 26 f.; cf. ii. 6 f.), or of those who have lost their earthly parents (Ps. lxviii. 5). His fatherhood, in relation to those who are his children through faith and obedience, is the basis of the religion of the New Covenant. "As the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," he reveals fatherhood and sonship more special still, which exhausts the significance of all the aspects of the relationship.

[1] Indeed, of all created things. According to Mal. ii. 10, creation and fatherhood on the part of God are identical. Cf. Ps. xc. 2 in the original, and Job xxxviii. 28.

§ 433. The other outstanding fact is, that fatherhood, both human and divine, becomes more a matter of spontaneous sentiment and less a matter of arbitrary association as, on the one hand, human society becomes more genial and reasonable, and as, on the other, the nature of God is more fully revealed. It has been shown how the primary *patria potestas* was relaxed in Hebrew history. I need not repeat here the citations which prove its actual prevalence and its gradual mitigation (§ 412 ff.). But it may be pointed out that the predominant tone of the paternal relation in the Old Testament is that of command, and the appropriate filial attitude that of obedience and respect. The prevailing note is struck in the parallelism between sonship and servitude: "A son honours his father and a servant his master. If then I be a father, where is my honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear?" (Mal. i. 6). Other notes are sounded (Ps. ciii. 13; Prov. iii. 12) which are a prelude to the softer and sweeter strains of the New Testament. It is in the teaching of the Son of God that both fatherhood and sonship are revealed in the light of their essential nature and their inherent possibilities (Matt. vi. 9; Luke xv. 11 ff.). Only by a parable could the divine conception and the human ideal be adequately set forth. Only so could they be disentangled from the associations — arbitrary, mechanical, slavish — of the ancient past of Israel and of the world. Only so could they be placed before men in that concrete aspect which the great Teacher has here made for us so simple and so profound, so universal, so homelike, so unforgetable, and so infinitely moving. In this "pearl of parables" we have the inward spiritual process of Hebrew domestic life exhibited in a single dramatic scene. The "elder son" (Luke xv. 29) indicates the primitive condition and, in large measure, the Old Testament presentation of the filial and paternal relation: servitude, law, duty — "Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine."

The younger son shows in epitome the history of the moral and spiritual transformation both of society and of God's individual children, under the holier and mightier régime of his fatherly patience, forbearance, innate, invincible love. "And he arose and came to his father. But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him and was moved with compassion, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him."

CHAPTER III

THE HEBREWS AS NOMADS AND SEMI-NOMADS

§ 434. What is usually called the miraculous in the Old Testament narratives does not exhaust its marvellous elements. Not less wonderful than the decisive events in which the people of Jehovah learned to see the direct intervention of the God of Israel, were those long antecedent processes which were their unmarked but necessary preparation. The Hebrew mind took little note of second causes (§ 5); the modern philosopher deals with them alone. The student of the history of Israel may well cultivate both the ancient and the modern spirit. Habituated to the manifest presence of a controlling Power, he becomes more and more reverent, as his knowledge grows from more to more. As a thoughtful observer he has been measuring the importance of events and movements directly by the range and momentum of their historical influence. As a special inquirer he now becomes accustomed to estimate their greatness inversely by the meagreness and feebleness of their obvious contributory forces. If, as we moderns have been taught, there is nothing in historical phenomena which did not lie implicitly in the antecedent elements and factors, material, intellectual, and moral, then our admiration may not unreasonably be evoked by the paramount marvel of the ancient world, the evolution of the Hebrew people out of a community of shepherds and slaves.[1] It was a clever

[1] It is hardly necessary to notice that the Bible writers themselves were much impressed by this phenomenon. See Deut. xxvi. 5; xxxii. 9 ff.; Ps. lxxx. 8 ff.; lxxxi. 6; cv. 11 ff.; Isa. li. 1 f.; Ezek. xvi. 3 ff. *et al.*

answer that is said to have been given to a skeptical prince by his chaplain when he was asked to give him, in a word or two, convincing evidence of the truth of Christianity. The reply was: "The Jews, your Majesty." But the Jews, both ancient and modern, are also silent witnesses to something without which neither Christianity nor Judaism itself could ever have been. Their invincible persistence *nitentes in adversum* testifies to the potentiality of the forces that went to the making of Israel. The stream cannot rise higher than the fountain. From what divine heights then must have descended the influences that moulded and endowed that nation which gave us the Bible and the vitalizing moral forces of the world! This perpetual assertion of the presence and power of the Eternal is the message of Israel. It was the sentiment and conviction of its seers and poets, absorbed as they were in the thought of its history. We may well turn to it again and again while we examine that history, no matter how critically. Let it be said that it comes rather from the heart than from the mind.[1] Be it so; it wells up from the undivided heart and mind of Israel. We may, at least, be impressed by what such faith has wrought for men, and by its ever-living, ever-widening dominion. Our latest idealists have attained to nothing higher or deeper or further-reaching. The conclusion of *In Memoriam* is no whit more victorious, no whit more rational. It is, in fact, the adaptation to the needs of this present cultured age of the faith in the living God, as it was kept by those in the olden time of Israel's hope and patience,

> "Who rolled a psalm to wintry skies
> And built them fanes of fruitless prayer;"

[1] It will be remembered that the word for "mind" in Hebrew is the same as that for "heart." In other words, *sentiment* (as distinguished from emotion, which is otherwise expressed) and *reflection* were one and the same.

and yet could

> "lift from out of dust
> A voice as unto Him that hears
> A cry above the conquered years
> To One that with us works, and *trust.*" [1]

§ 435. Such reflections are suggested by the condition of ancient Israel at the earliest stage of their existence as a people. What the character of the Hebrew community was in the long ages which preceded the Exodus from Egypt we can learn partly from hints in the Bible narrative, partly by inference from the known condition of immigrant tribes in Northern Egypt, and partly by what modern comparative sociology has to tell us of the character of settlements made by nomadic peoples on the borders of a cultured nation. We are particularly struck by the scantiness of the references by the sacred writers. It will be seen, however, that such as are made are very suggestive. It will not be forgotten that historical narration among the Hebrews confined itself to leading incidents illustrative of the inception or progress of their own institutions. What followed the Exodus, and what immediately determined and accompanied it, were matters of the first importance, and therefore received particular attention. Critical events were elaborated and put in the foreground. Antecedent conditions dropped out of sight or were taken for granted. We may say a word by the way in explanation of this reticence. The reader is already familiar with the observation that historical writing in the modern sense was unknown to the Hebrews and the Semites generally (§ 12). It would not occur to the chroniclers, from whose writings the early books of the Old Testament are compiled, to go into the question of the social and corporate condition of the Hebrews in Egypt. Such a procedure would have been deemed

[1] See, for example, Ps. xxii., xxxvii., lxxiii., lxxvii., lxxx., lxxxv., xc., cii., cvi., cxxi., cxxiv., cxxv., cxxvi., cxxx.; the book of Job; the Prophecies as a whole, especially Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk.

superfluous if it had been thought of, for the contemporaries of the writers did not need enlightenment upon matters which were familiar to them from every-day observation. To us the missing information is of the highest importance, mainly because it helps to set in their true relations and proportions the phenomena of the early development of Israel. And it is a matter for devout thankfulness that modern scholarship is wont to call upon all the historical sciences to supply the missing lines and shading of the picture left us by the literary artists of the Old Testament.

§ 436. A few considerations will, I think, show that the Hebrews while in Egypt were already in possession of all the essential elements of a stable society. If our chronological estimate of the patriarchal period and of the time of the Exodus (§ 109; 114; 167) is correct, the residence of Israel in Egypt must have extended over several hundred years. To have endured so long it must have had inherent elements of permanence of a social character, apart from the virility of individual founders or early leaders of the race. The Bible narrative tells us that it survived a prolonged term of rigorous slavery, whose severity was aggravated by special repressive measures. Now there is every reason to believe that this period of enslavement was a very lengthy one. Indeed, we know that the attitude of the Egyptians towards the nomadic tribes, who came from over the Isthmus in search of food and pasturage, was normally hostile or, at least, suspicious and watchful. Thus under ordinary circumstances the Hebrews could not long have remained independent occupants of a territory closely bordering upon the most thickly settled portion of the country, when the enterprise of the ruling inhabitants and their hereditary feuds with the shepherds of the Desert made them jealous of all encroachments of strangers. It is true that during a large portion of the time of the Hebrew residence the Hyksos, their kindred, formed the controlling element

in the Egyptian population. But the toleration made possible during their régime was unknown and, in fact, impossible under their successors, who ruled Egypt for the latter half of the time of the Hebrew occupation.

§ 437. Such were the chances of extinction through oppression. If these had been successfully overcome, through some singular providence, there still lay behind elements of danger more subtle and more deadly. I mean the disintegrating forces which inevitably threaten the very existence of a community living within the jurisdiction and influence of a people superior both in culture and in material power. The corporate survival of Israel in such circumstances is probably unique among the experiences of the tribes and nations of the earth. So inherently improbable does the phenomenon seem that it has been thought to be actually impossible. On this very ground it has been alleged that the settlement of Israel in Egypt is a fiction.[1] The question is so fundamental to our whole inquiry that a clearer and fuller statement is necessary. In seeking for light upon the early conditions of Hebrew life, some illuminating rays may fall upon the larger subject of their national movements and fortunes.

§ 438. The reader will remember that what we are now concerned with is the actual residence of the Hebrews within the territory of Egypt proper. Preservation of social identity for long periods of time is quite

[1] Thus Winckler in his *Altorientalische Forschungen* (1893), in the course of a dissertation on the Assyrian *Muṣru* ("border, border-land," etc., also a proper name, cf. vol. i, 409) claims, on the ground above mentioned, that the Hebrews, instead of being in מצרים ("Egypt"), really came into Canaan from a district mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions bordering on Southern Palestine, and bearing the name just given. He also acutely suggests that in Gen. xvi. 1, the true translation is "Hagar the Muṣraite," instead of "Hagar the Egyptian." Both hypotheses are improbable. It must be constantly kept in mind that until the expulsion of the Hyksos, the intercourse between Palestine and Egypt for many centuries was very close and frequent. Egypt was indeed the great "borderland" of the Semites, and hence its name among that people.

possible when the tribes or clans live on the borders of a highly cultured nation or even when considerable numbers of them mingle freely with the settled inhabitants. Such was the condition of the many tribes who, on the south and east of Palestine, maintained their name and autonomy for long ages after the Canaanites and their Hebrew successors had brought that country to a fairly high degree of civilization.[1] Much more nearly parallel to the case of nomads on the borders of Egypt were the tribes of Aramæans and Arabs who shepherded and traded on the lower Euphrates and Tigris under the shadow of a much more aggressive type of national culture than any that ever prevailed in Palestine (§ 339). Another instructive analogy is that of the Chaldæans, who began their political existence in unknown early ages within the territory claimed by the opulent empires of Babylonia (§ 223; 293; 340), and ended by becoming proprietor of them all. The picture given us by the Bible writers, to whom we owe all our direct knowledge of the matter, represents Israel as within the administrative domain of the Egyptian rulers, and not as being on the outermost borders, whether on the Mediterranean shore or upon the Isthmus.

§ 439. This is the situation which makes the survival so remarkable. If mutual tolerance could have been kept up between the immigrants and the dominant people, the chances of the preservation of the former would, of course, be increased, though it would seem that in the course of a few generations the moral influences tending towards absorption would have prevailed. But such an agreeable state of affairs was out of the question. We are given to understand that even at the beginning of the intercourse they were separated from the body of the Egyptian people

[1] Those peoples, for example, with whom Gen. x. and xxv. and xxxvi. as well as the book of Job and the last two chapters of Proverbs, have made us familiar. Cf. § 334 for allusions to some of them in the Assyrian annals.

because their pastoral occupation was held in abomination by the latter. And we may be sure that while the Egyptian had a deep-rooted antipathy for the race of shepherds, the Hebrew felt something approaching to contempt for a civilization which made a few rich and the great multitude a herd of slaves. Nor did the pyramids and temples and palaces of the Pharaohs either overawe or interest him. They rather excited his aversion as evidences of impious pride and folly.[1]

§ 440. Finally, however, the Hebrews found that if they were to remain on Egyptian soil they could only do so on precarious sufferance. The prosperity of such immigrants depended not merely on the tolerance or favour of the Egyptian rulers. It was, also, in inverse ratio to the prosperity of the Egyptian state as a whole. If the empire languished, its rigorous rule was relaxed in the border regions: the pasture-lands increased and invited more and more the envious Bedawin. If, on the other hand, the nation prospered, its whole territory was utilized for its sustenance. The frontier was pushed further forward. Troops in garrison or on the march occupied the sites of nomadic encampments and held the routes of caravans. Store-cities were built for them, for the court officials and the tax-gatherers, and for the master-builders of public works. Such was the character of the empire of the Nile under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. Economical conditions were changed both for the natives and the foreigners. The multiplication of cavalry in the army (§ 144) of itself materially affected the disposition of the pasture-grounds. Further, the Egyptian dominion being extended far beyond the frontier into the midst of Asia, the Hebrew colonists found themselves in the very heart of an Egyptian administration. Then came the decisive strain upon their social and domestic institutions.

[1] Cf. Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, I, p. 64 f., where, in another connection, the relations between nomads and settled populations are ingeniously discussed; also *ib.* p. 137.

They must toil as slaves or quit the country. The latter alternative was impossible during most of the long period including the eighteenth dynasty and the twentieth. Slavery was inevitable and that upon a large scale. But slavery is a speedy destroyer of all social organization. It has been habitually resorted to in the East and West alike, not merely for the profit of the slave-holders, but with the wider purpose of breaking up the tribal or national bonds of the communities thought by a superior state to be aggressive or in any way dangerous. It is not here maintained that servitude, at the beginning, was abhorrent to the whole body of the Hebrews. At the time when it was being carried into effect it may have been welcome to many of them, whose subsistence was vanishing day by day. Indeed, after the nomadic state was resumed the precarious provision of the desert life seemed to the liberated wanderers a poor exchange for the rude but reliable rations of fish and onions supplied to them in the days of their bondage (Numb. xi. 5; cf. xxi. 5). It is only claimed that such an Oriental system of slave-holding was necessarily subversive of the sense of nationality, not to speak of patriotism, which may have been cherished by the disfranchised multitudes.

§ 441. Mark the consequences of this policy among the Hebrews in Egypt. Apparently their spirit was almost completely broken, especially after the atrocious but characteristically Oriental measures employed to cripple and obliterate the obnoxious aliens (Ex. vi. 9). The fact to be appreciated is that they held together at all. That they did hold together, that they did not allow themselves to become merged in the nameless multitudes of *fellahin* who have done the servile work of Egypt under all its countless changes of dynastic rule, must have been due to their organized social condition. Let us see what this implies. In the first place, they must have lived in Egypt in no small numbers, occupying a considerable extent of country. A small isolated family or clan

could not have endured even for the century which a recent brilliant historian has assumed as the whole length of the Hebrew occupation of Lower Egypt.[1] Moreover, their numbers must have increased during the tranquil period of their residence; otherwise they would have dwindled away to extinction under outside pressure. Such is the law of growth and decay among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples. Again, their organization must have become more rigid and prescriptive if not actually more specialized and complex. The lapse of time alone necessarily tended to fix the organic type. But there was, besides, the perpetual struggle for existence with newly arriving bands of immigrants from the Desert, and a constant effort of self-adjustment to the requirements of a more highly organized community, the potential masters of the soil.

§ 442. Above and beneath all, they must have observed the system of social and religious observances which they had brought with them into Egypt. This was not simply the unifying bond of the community; it was, rather, its vital principle. No essential change in this was possible. To imitate the utterly foreign cult of the Egyptians was an impossibility from any point of view. It could only be done separately by members of the Hebrew tribes as individuals, who would thereby immediately lose their tribal membership. The question whether the Hebrews adopted any of the Egyptian beliefs or rites is an entirely different matter, which will come up later. The cardinal point is that the central attributes of the Hebrew religion must have remained intact, — above all, the worship of Jehovah, the national, or, if you will, the tribal God. Consider well what this means. It implies that for hundreds of years the same deity had been worshipped and the same characteristic observances maintained as an essential part of the tribal system. Otherwise, I repeat, the survival of Israel in Lower Egypt was impossible and

[1] Renan, *Histoire*, I, 142.

is to us unthinkable. The long and obscure interval between the Patriarchs and the Exodus is thus bridged over. The Exodus implies, or rather involves, the essentials of the patriarchal history.

§ 443. Such a conclusion reaches far both backward and forward. It can be rejected only by those who also wholly reject the early history of the times preceding the immigration into Egypt. The one stands or falls with the other; the one is the development of the other; the one is implicitly contained in the other. If the story of the Hebrews in Egypt is a fable, then the narrative of the simpler life of the nomad Hebrews in Canaan, lived so long before, is a fable also. But, what is of equal consequence, the converse is also true. If the patriarchal history contains a basis of truth, the Egyptian history of the Hebrews, or something closely corresponding, must also be accepted. As we shall see, the Hebrews were no mere nomads when they entered Canaan. They had already acquired the elements of a settled government, and these may well have been prepared for during a fixed residence, just such as they enjoyed in Egypt. The argument is broad and general, because it has to do with comprehensive conditions and long periods of time. How does it comport with what the book of Exodus has to say of the Hebrews in Egypt? Let us look at the several points in order. We have seen that the people must have been numerous, if they were to survive at all. On this point the Bible testimony is emphatic enough, as it also lays stress upon the related fact of their increase.[1] That their status and social condition were necessarily affected by the inexorable pressure of the Egyptian power

[1] With regard to the excessively large numbers found in the current text in the numeration of the tribes, I must content myself with a general reference to note 6 in the appendix to vol. i, and with a reminder of the admitted principle that numbers have a tendency to grow larger in successive transcriptions of ancient documents generally. Editorial systematizing must be held responsible for the final results.

we have clearly seen. Of the processes as well as the consequences of the oppression we have full details in the Hebrew records. The necessary elaboration of the tribal government is also attested. The "elders of the people" (Ex. iii. 16, 18; iv. 29; xii. 21) are not mentioned at all in Genesis. They, and not the heads of the "father's houses," or of the kins, are now the recognized representatives of the people; that is, of the clans or tribes. Finally, the perpetuation of the essential beliefs and usages of the old religion shines through the whole narrative. The people were, it is true, unsettled and discouraged by reason of the hard bondage; and the messengers of Jehovah received an unfavourable response from the mass of the people to whom they announced the coming deliverance. Yet he was still recognized as the God of Israel; and no subsequent act of disloyalty before the entrance into Canaan was intended as a rejection of his paramount claims. To this central fact the whole story bears evidence, direct and indirect. Conclusions such as these, taken all together, make the strongest of arguments for the essential accuracy of the traditional conceptions of the character and career of Israel in the earlier stages of its history.

§ 444. It is a prevailing fashion among Old Testament critics to give credit to the leading facts connected with the residence of Israel in Egypt, and its departure from it, and to discard as mythical and not merely traditional the Bible narratives containing the history of the patriarchs. A modest suggestion may not be out of place. At least the religious history is self-consistent and satisfactory in the telling. The cult of Jehovah, with the essential accompanying observances, was undeniably a distinctive attribute of Israel before the entrance into Canaan. The legislation of Sinai could not and did not confer such an endowment, however much it developed and deepened it. It had already been possessed and cherished in Egypt. But no one will maintain that it

could have had its beginnings in Egypt — a country foreign morally and intellectually both to Israel and to the genius of its religion. It must therefore have begun earlier than the time or times of the settlement in Egypt. The Bible tells a story which sets forth in broad outline, and in a concrete personal drapery, the early progress of that religion. The worship of Jehovah was taken up and fostered by men in a simpler state of society than even that of Israel in Egypt before the Exodus. Its arena was the land of Canaan, a region in the olden times most closely connected with Egypt. It was to Canaan, moreover, that the descendants of the first votaries of the religion returned, after the Exodus, as to an ancestral home. The main difficulty, I apprehend, that stands in the way of the acceptance of the cardinal elements of the patriarchal history, is this outstanding personal, individualistic rôle assigned to the early exponents of the religion of Jehovah. There seems to be present perhaps too much of that heroic type of narrative, such as we are accustomed to associate with the mythical elements of ancient literature generally. If we could substitute for the persons of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their kindred, the names of clans, or even of families, much of the difficulty would probably vanish.

§ 445. It will be granted, I think, that the sacred narrative fills a necessary place. The framework of the social fabric of Israel in early days is not complete without some such foundation as that supplied by the conditions of the Bible story. But are we not at liberty to give a larger interpretation to the patriarchal narratives which will furnish a just and sufficient theory of the history of Israel and its religion in pre-Mosaic times? There is much that should commend such an interpretation to the sober judgment of a critical age. Abraham and his descendants in the time of historical influence were of course only the heads of the leading families in their respective clans. They were men of force of character,

and some of them according to the record were men of religious faith. But devout and heroic men were a prerequisite to the rise and progress of Israel, if there was to be a race and religion of Israel at all, — a race and religion with the promise and potency of the moral transformation of the world. Such men are necessarily outstanding representatives of their class.

§ 446. Add to this the consideration (cf. § 435) that Hebrew narrative is eclectic and partial. It makes up by the brilliancy of its colouring and the vividness of its portraiture for the absence of grouping, shading, and perspective. An epoch is characterized by one or two incidents; a race or order of men by one or two instances; a rule of life by one or two examples; a national struggle or political or social revolution by one or two episodes. Its style and manner are naturally most strikingly exemplified in the treatment of those stages of the national life which are commemorated more by tradition than by documentary records. The concrete and the personal are the more appreciated, the more the historical background has become indistinct and shadowy. Hence the figures of the ancient heroes of the race fill up more and more the ever-narrowing avenues of the retrospect. It is not an undisciplined fancy, but a just historic imagination, which discerns behind and about these gigantic forms a living and moving social environment which was as indispensable to them as they were to it. With this interpretation of the patriarchal narratives we find that the early history of Israel is a consistent unity, harmonizing with sociological and historical principles. At the same time, it serves as the necessary foundation of the succeeding national development.

§ 447. On the other hand, we must not depreciate the personal significance of the patriarchs. While they were the children of their time, of their race, of their circumstances and physical surroundings, yet as founders and pioneers they were separated from them and stood apart.

This is, after all, the real meaning of their exceptional career. One family, conscious of its great destiny and inspired by faith and trust in Jehovah, refused to be held by its tribal associations, and formed a new social beginning for itself. The movement was promoted decisively when Jacob and his sons quitted their old-time pasture-grounds, cut loose from their environment, and pitched their tents in Egypt. Here a fresh start was made unfettered by the social bonds and entanglements inseparable from their residence in Canaan.[1] A change of condition was mainly what made this event critical. But such a change was potentially significant enough to create a new era.

§ 448. The distinction between Israel in Canaan in the olden time and Israel in Egypt was mainly this. In Canaan in the patriarchal stage a process of selection went on continually. In other words, the family was of more importance than the clan, in spite of the operation of the social usages of the country and its peoples. In Egypt, where the clan began its separate career untrammelled, the individual family lost its relative importance and became subordinate to the clan. Families and kins were speedily differentiated and retained their several names and badges. But the *community* was all the while developing with them and giving them countenance, unity, and dignity. Through change of place and occupation, and through family alliances, the original clan was divided, and Israel soon came to be constituted of several clans or tribes. These were varied indefinitely as to actual descent by intermarriage, and yet, according to the rule of paternal

[1] Of such influences an instructive instance is furnished in Gen. xxxiv. We learn from this account, how the family of Israel must have been enlarged from neighbouring aliens who adopted the naturalizing rite. "Jacob" was then plainly a clan as well as a family head, and as such was transferred to a new home and arena in the grazing lands of Egypt. Of affiliation with Canaanites, an example is furnished in Gen. xxxviii. 1 f. Nor must we overlook the statement of Gen. xiv. 14, which puts Abraham at the head of a powerful clan.

and filial right (§ 428), the autonomy of the original families was preserved in the male line, so that the heads of the families who came down to Egypt gave their names perpetually to the several divisions. But these divisions were no longer social units as families or even kins, but closely associated political units, each with its own council of elders, its own local sanctuary, and its own priesthood. Nothing more, I may observe, is here assumed than what is necessary to explain the growth and conservation of the Hebrew community.

§ 449. We are now at length in some degree prepared to deal with the condition of Israel at the critical era of the Exodus. A new stage is now about to be entered upon. The nation, if we may so call it, is coming under the influence of that majestic personality, that supereminent genius, that "man of God," with whom but few of the sons of men have vied in intellectual and moral grandeur. We may therefore well call this new age of Israel the Mosaic age. It is apparently the common belief that Moses made of Israel a nation out of a herd of slaves.[1] This opinion is erroneous, at least in the vague and undiscriminating form in which it is usually held. That Hebrew society as a whole greatly deteriorated during the later stages of the Egyptian residence is certain; but no less certain is it, as we have seen above, that large sections of it retained their tribal organization with their distinctive social and religious culture.[2] These furnished

[1] Such a view, equivalent to the belief in a certain sort of magical power on the part of the great legislator, is set forth and expounded by Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, *The City of God*, 2 ed. (1886), p. 110 ff. Wellhausen, also, in consequence of depreciating the pre-Mosaic career of Israel, was at one time obliged to exaggerate the political effect of the part played by Moses. See *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (1884), I, p. 9 f. In his latest work, however, his depreciation of the religious influence of Moses has apparently led him to detract from the importance of his political achievements. See IJG. p. 30.

[2] Miriam and her song, whose essential originality it is vain to dispute (see Driver, *Introduction*, p. 27), are perhaps the best concrete evidence of the condition of the leading class in Israel before the Exodus. A

a rallying-point and nucleus for such of the members of the community as had been scattered through the exigencies of poverty and servitude, and yet had not strayed far from the tents of Israel. The work of Moses was mainly regenerative and disciplinary. It was constructive, to be sure; but it was constructive largely because it was reconstructive. The evolution of Hebrew society, which was slowly accomplished under the impulse of his presiding mind, was marvellous and unique. But it was after all an evolution, not a creation. It was moreover only made possible by his becoming himself a factor in the process, standing within and not without the sphere of operation. What Moses aimed to do for the Hebrew people was to energize them, to organize and unify them. This he in some measure accomplished directly for his own generation.

§ 450. But most of the unexampled influence of Moses was exerted indirectly and upon subsequent ages. It will be seen that but little of the legislation with which he is credited was intended for the tribes during their nomadic life. He in fact did not at first expect that the wilderness would long detain them. The revelations of Sinai were made for a people already in fixed abodes; and the lawgiver hoped that but a few months would intervene before the occupation of Canaan would begin. In truth, but little in the way of special new legislation was needed by Israel in the Desert. And this of itself is strong negative evidence for the view that no serious outward disturbance had taken place in the social relations of the refugees in Egypt. What was chiefly needed of permanent value was personal self-reliance and courage, and persuasion of the

society which could furnish the antecedents of this episode, which produced the poet, the singer, and the class to which they belonged, can hardly be called degraded. We must beware of thinking of such cases as isolated. Culture was no more sporadic or self-evolved in Old Testament times, or lands, or peoples, than it is in our own times and among contemporary nations.

reality and significance of the warrant of Jehovah for re-entering the ancestral domain. It was thought at first that a few months of desert life would harden their temper and prepare them for the risks and stress of military service. Hence they were led not by the way of the Philistines, northeastward, but southward through the peninsula of Sinai. Finally, when it came to the question of an actual irruption into Canaan, they were found to be still unready. Steadfastness, more than courage in the field, was required for the perilous enterprise. The renewal of the whole vital force of the people was found to be necessary. Their late habitual environment demanded its due. Nothing could be done hastily or suddenly. A whole people cannot be remade in a day or a year. Their spirit had been crushed by wholesale subjection to the rulers of the land, and they recoiled from the dangers which the freer and more independent desert inhabitants were accustomed to face. A new generation had to grow up inured to the perils of a life in the wilderness.

§ 451. Upon this new generation Moses impressed something of his own energy and faith. To speak of Moses making a "nation" of this people, in the strict sense of the term, is inaccurate, because a nation could not be made in the Desert (§ 46). He could, however, and he did, infuse into the people a new spirit of confident self-reliance, or more properly reliance upon Jehovah. He thus could and did make real and active within them the old beliefs which had not yet been fully learnt before, and which indeed could never be fully learnt except through practical experience of their validity. Their great inward need was unity of sentiment and purpose. Their chief outward disability was the lack of corporate unity. Profound and far-reaching were the means employed to secure both. The former was achieved by means of a common ritual; the latter through an improved administration. We have seen above that in Egypt each of the clans had its own priesthood and local sanctuary (§ 448). This in

nowise conflicted with the general adherence to the cult of Jehovah. It only meant that in the rudimentary state of society the family groups which made up the clan were held together by their participation in common religious observances (§ 397; 402 f.). And of whatever simple rites the worship consisted, they were necessarily restricted in practise to the manageable circle of the clan and its dependents. The great triumph of Moses in the religious sphere was to make the ritual a matter of united observance. That is to say, he instituted a single priesthood and a common sanctuary for all the tribes. It was only in accordance with the fitness of things that his own tribe should be charged with the priestly functions, and that his own brother should become the chief of the priests. For purposes of government this meant that the general civil administration and the religious should be closely allied.

§ 452. The other movement contemplated a redistribution and concentration of the governing power. This matter of internal government requires a somewhat close examination. It has been mentioned (§ 36) that the *sheich* of a nomadic tribe does not exercise absolute authority, nor even exercise primary jurisdiction. He is the arbiter, the leader in war, the judge on final appeal. Otherwise he is simply *primus inter pares*, and the presiding member of the council of elders. An association of several tribes or larger clans introduced no essential change in the constitution of this elementary democracy. The choice of a leader in war or in important negotiations was the only distinction conferred upon any one such chief above the rest. Moses, however, was confronted with an altogether exceptional governmental problem. He had to deal with a people whose normal social development had been rudely interrupted. As a result, very unequal degrees of social order were manifested among the several sections of the community. Tribal discipline and coherence had become suspended among large masses of the people, even where the bonds of the

family or the kin had not been severed. The restoration of the body politic to order and right relations was rendered peculiarly difficult by the dislocations and inner disturbances due to the peregrinations of the whole community. We realize better the chances of increasing confusion and disorder when we remember that the tent was the family *rendezvous*, and that during the critical early months of the desert life the encampment was shifted continually.

§ 453. A disturbing element of great ultimate influence on the expansion of Israel was the so-called "mixed multitude." Such an appendage to the camp was an inevitable accompaniment of any considerable desert community. It had the expectation and desire of becoming formally incorporated into the organized body to which it attached itself (§ 550). We are not to regard it as an undisciplined horde. Nor was it a miscellaneous conglomeration of nondescript outlaws and refugees. On the contrary, it certainly represented in large measure small independent communities, remnants of tribes that were perhaps once powerful, but were now in danger of extinction from the vicissitudes of the desert. They had become clients or wards of Israel, receiving protection and rendering service in return, besides acknowledging Jehovah.

§ 454. The consolidation of such a badly assorted gathering, constantly on the move and much larger than an ordinary desert community, would have been quite out of the range of possibility if it were not for certain favouring conditions. One of these was the impetus that had been given to a common national sentiment by the successful passage of an arm of the Red Sea, and the signal overwhelming defeat of the Egyptian pursuers under the auspices of the accredited messenger and prophet of Jehovah. Food and water granted to Israel from the same potent source seemed to guarantee even to the parasitic retinue, as well as to Israel proper, the chief *desiderata* of desert life. Again, the necessity of

defence against predatory tribes or rivals for the possession of oases promoted that military spirit which is the strongest external cohesive principle of nomadic life. And success in conflicts with foes like the Amalekites created an enthusiasm which promoted greatly, while it lasted, the growing sentiment of comradeship and unity. Men who before had been disheartened and aimless now felt themselves bound together in the satisfying of a common desire and the putting forth of united efforts. Gratitude, dependence, confidence, and trust bound them at the same time to Moses their leader, and to Jehovah their God. As far as sentiment was concerned, as distinct from permanent qualities and virtues, everything was propitious for a beginning in popular government.

§ 455. How greatly this was needed is clear from the fact that, although under the new conditions men of the various tribes were continually brought into contact with one another, there were no common courts of justice or arbitration, to which resort could be had for the ratifying of any agreement or the adjustment of any dispute outside the limits of the single tribal division. Hence Moses himself was constantly in demand as a judge, referee, and counsellor. The first decisive step was taken towards making a nation of Israel in a very few weeks after the crossing of the Red Sea. The time was propitious. A certain real preparation had been made among the people by the partial experience they had had of settled life in Egypt (cf. § 441 f.), as well as by their observation of the workings of Egyptian jurisprudence. The essential matter in the new system was that the administrative function should be divided and in a certain degree delegated. Moses, from being a great tribal chief over other chiefs, should become the head of a commonwealth. The revolution was started by the introduction of a principle which ran quite across that of the tribal organization. In the latter there was the council of elders for general purposes of administration. Also within each clan the heads of the

kins or family groups settled minor affairs and controversies. Their warrant was their personal authority; and this rested on seniority or on a consent of the kinsmen, determined informally by obvious marks of fitness in those chosen to stand in the front. In any case, the choice came from below and not from above. The system now initiated was radically diverse. Instead of recognizing the sacred divisions of the tribe or the clan, or even those of the kin or the household, the principle of local relation was introduced. Groups, larger and smaller, were made according to residence or vicinage. Hence the basis of division was to be made numerical. Over the several sections rulers were appointed by Moses. "And Moses chose men of worth out of all Israel, and set them as heads over the people: rulers[1] of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. And they used to judge the people regularly; the difficult cases they brought to Moses, but the minor cases they adjudicated themselves (Ex. xviii. 25 f.). At the same time these rulers were in a certain sense representative, since, according to the reminiscence in Deuteronomy (i. 13), the people were invited by Moses to co-operate in selecting them. Moreover, the two systems were made to fit into one another, since the first choice at least was made from those who were already at the head of the tribal divisions (Deut. i. 15; cf. xvi. 18).

§ 456. This memorable institution presents some features of great interest. The first thing to be noticed is that it was introduced before the arrival of Israel at Sinai; that is to say, it was preliminary to the specific ordinances which were to regulate the concerns of civic and religious life among the people of Jehovah as a *nation*. In other words, it was prerequisite to a settled mode of living generally. Observe, further, that it was understood to be strictly of human devising. The same claim is not put forward for it that appears regularly in behalf of the sev-

[1] The word is usually equivalent to "prince."

eral portions of the Sinaitic legislation. The latter were obtained directly in personal interviews with Jehovah upon his sacred seat. The former is expressly ascribed to a suggestion from the father-in-law of Moses. Jethro was, to be sure, a priest, and, as such, might seem authorized to deliver these counsels as an oracle from Jehovah, especially as he had presided, on the day preceding, at a sacrifice to the God of Israel, whose supreme sovereignty he rejoiced to acknowledge (Ex. xviii. 10 ff.). But his act as a counsellor of Moses is, by the narrator, entirely disassociated from his function as a priest, and it would, naturally, be only in the character of their official representative that he would have presumed to declare the divine will to the people of Israel.

§ 457. The distinction just pointed out is one of wide range and deep significance. It is only specific statutes and decisions that are ascribed by the sacred writers directly to Jehovah. Political and social forms and institutions are either expressly or implicitly treated as popular movements. It was so with the later government by "judges," and with the still later monarchical system. Nor was it otherwise after the Captivity. The matter is worthy of fuller discussion. It can only be pointed out here that the distinction is in perfect harmony with the whole spirit of Revelation, and with the Biblical conception of the relation of the Deity to humanity. Human society is evolved out of primitive human relations. It is a product of practical skill, of adaptation, and contrivance, the slowly attained result of endless compromises and makeshifts. No social institution is of direct divine appointment. The matter of Revelation is the unfolding and illustration of *principles* within the sphere of morals, of conscience, of conduct. The divine will is declared for the enlightenment and guidance of men within the social and political relations in which they stand, and which are in themselves, as mere institutions, without moral significance. The "law," or, rather, the teaching of Jehovah, is

a revelation of the righteousness and justice[1] which are the foundation of his throne (Ps. lxxxix. 14; xcvii. 2). As a body of "precepts," "statutes," "commandments," "judgments," it is a record of the actual decisions of Jehovah revealed through his representatives the Prophets. It is, of course, not confined to the Pentateuch, though that portion of the Old Testament contains a systematized compilation of those announcements which have to do with the regulation of the ordinary affairs of life. The distinction, then, is clear that human society, as represented in Israel, is taken for granted as it stands. Its ultimate constitution and its established relations are not interfered with. But the duties which grow out of these relations are defined and insisted upon. Men are not held responsible for conditions which they find ready to hand, but for specific acts of their own free choice.

§ 458. Some radical change in the organization of the tribes was imperatively demanded for other reasons than those assigned by the priest of Midian (Ex. xviii. 14, 18). Even if the clansmen were merely to be held together until they should reach the borders of Canaan, some more cohesive principle than the prescriptive tribal government had to be adopted. And this numerical division and organization of the people according to local groupings, in place of tribal associations, marked the first necessary stage of preparation for the higher and permanent type of civic administration. For military purposes alone an

[1] These are the two key-words of the Old Testament moral revelation. The former (צדק) is the guiding subjective principle of right, whether in God or man. The latter (משפט) is its outward expression, its practical efficiency. Since it varies indefinitely with the relations and conditions of its application in human affairs, the term itself must be rendered and interpreted variously. It should not always be translated "judgment," as is usually done in the modern versions. This is only proper when it means a decision or adjudication. The original meaning is *levelling;* thence comes the sense of adjusting, regulating, deciding. The judicial usage predominates, since Jehovah is the decider, the adjuster, the judge, in human affairs. As the name of right conduct it answers, as an abstract, to "justice."

advance was indispensable. It was impossible that any general leader could permanently command the services or the loyalty of the warriors if these were at the absolute disposal of the clan leaders or the family councils. They must be habituated to consider themselves as parts of a greater whole, as owing allegiance to the community and its leader, and bound to stand together, not merely as kinsmen or clansmen, but as members of a larger brotherhood. Again, the rights of property must be conserved as between man and man, and not merely as between a man and his tribe or sept.[1] Finally, the initiative in legal processes must be taken by some representatives of the people rather than by the family or clan alone. The new principle could not secure these ends directly, but it was the best means of showing the inadequacy and unfitness of the old bonds of union, and it pointed the way to some higher and better state of society that should provide security, confidence, and repose to the vexed and harassed wanderers.

§ 459. It is not to be supposed, however, that the new type of administration was at once made fully operative. Such a process, like other social change, must be one of natural and gradual adjustment. We are to understand that, in this episode of the journey between Rephidim and Sinai, the *beginnings* of a new order of things were made, and that these were improved upon continually according to a well-defined aim and upon a fixed principle. I may again remind the reader of the distinguishing mark of Hebrew narrative (cf. § 435; 446), — how it summarizes events, indicates great movements and epochs by single examples, puts a part for the whole and the whole for a

[1] One of the most grievous evils of the tribal system was that any one accused before his tribesmen would be acquitted or condemned by the judgment of his kinsfolk alone. Inasmuch, also, as revenge for injuries, real or supposed, was left to the kin, or ultimately to the clan or tribe, magisterial government would be desirable so as to mitigate the severity of vengeance, as well as to punish the offender.

part, foreshortens its historical pictures. In this instance, the end is given with the beginning, because the beginning implied and virtually involved the end.

§ 460. Finally, we must conclude, in the same way, that the old system of organization was not suddenly repealed. We know, indeed, that it was in force much later, even after the settlement in Canaan had been accomplished (*e.g.* Jud. vi. 34). The two principles were allowed to work side by side; that which was inherently the stronger and more serviceable gradually superseded the other. Naturally, the patriarchal was perpetuated during long ages for the adjustment of family relations. Indeed, as we have seen (§ 455), the first officials under the new system were selected from the heads of the tribes and families. On the other hand, we do not need to assume that the numerical division was strictly adhered to. "Thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens" were, we may suppose, in most cases, approximations. The very term for "thousand" is one of the names for a clan or sept (§ 396). This, of itself, may suggest to us the propriety of not insisting rigorously on the literal accuracy of Old Testament summarizing numbers.

§ 461. The principle observed was to have justice administered within manageable divisions of contiguous groups, large and small. Details are wanting. We see here only the germ and first expression of public sentiment, the political initiation of the people of Israel. Hereafter something was felt to be standing between the unregulated freedom of the clansman and the rough justice or matter of course protection of his kinsman or his tribe (see Deut. xvi. 18 f.; xvii. 8 ff.; xxv. 1 ff.). There was a public tribunal where there was some chance of each case being decided wholly on its merits. This may seem to have been a slight step in advance. But it is the first step that counts, and the movement taken here was a practical one. There is no such thing as justice in the abstract. The kingdom of righteousness would never have been

established if rude men at the threshhold of civilized history had not been taught justice and self-control from the discipline of their fellows more advanced than themselves. From this point of view the system suggested by Jethro is seen to be a comprehensive type of the social and political development of Israel.[1] But it is more than this. It is a symbol also of the triumph and reign of law and order among men, which has furnished the outward conditions of the progress of righteousness and justice. Thus it seems, after all, to have been ultimately not less a divine institution than the legislation on Sinai.

§ 462. But we are expressly notified that the human and the divine actually co-operated in this first political experiment of the Hebrew commonwealth. The people in resorting to Moses came to him "to inquire of God," and Moses, in "judging between a man and his neighbour, made them know the statutes of God and his laws" (Ex. xviii. 15 f.). As we have seen (§ 457), Jehovah was the fountain of all practical justice, and both seers and priests in dispensing justice and pronouncing judgment, did so in his name, and after inquiring of his will. This fundamental aspect of the relation of the people of Israel to their God overshadows all others. It is in fact the basis of the Old Testament religion. When we think of the mission and work of the Prophets in Israel, we can only complete the retrospect by going back to these primary disclosures among the tents of the Desert. We are at present, however, concerned more particularly with the social and political aspects of the public administration in Israel. And immediately after the record of the new organization, we find the people at Sinai receiving a complete system of instruction as to the details of life and conduct. The combination is now seen to be natural. The one in fact

[1] Hence it is not surprising to meet the statement that shortly after the camp breaks up again, Moses finds it necessary to have the assistance of a council of "seventy elders" (Numb. xi. 16 ff.). Evidently the organization was tentative and rudimentary.

implies and requires the other. Indeed, in the summarizing review the political episode is regarded as falling within the epoch of Sinai (Deut. i. 6, 9 ff.). Its value as part of the record consists mainly, one would think, in the relation between it and the disclosures made on the holy mount. The meaning of this association obviously is that the precepts of Sinai and its administrative provisions generally were designed for the stage of society which was to be reached by virtue of the new civil constitution.

§ 463. A comprehensive glance at the enactments illustrates clearly the foregoing observation. The new type of internal government went beyond the usages and requirements of nomads. It could only be, as it actually was, brought into complete operation under the conditions of settled life. Just so was it with the regulations of Sinai. Beyond its few general moral and religious precepts, everything applies to the subsequent life of Israel in Canaan.[1] Scarcely anything is either specifically or implicitly adapted to the experiences of the wilderness. It is unnecessary to demonstrate this assertion. The same thing is to be said of the prescriptions in Deuteronomy. Just as the directions of the ritual imply a fixed place of worship, so the regulations for civil life imply a fixed abode for the people. The whole system is framed for a people living in towns and villages, and engaged normally in tilling the soil. And, as a matter of fact, not only do many of the statutes expressly contemplate a residence in a country populous and productive, but the people are continually reminded of the necessity of observing them in the land to which they were being conducted. This is, therefore, the Biblical as well as the sociological view of the matter.

§ 464. There is little more to be learnt of the development of the Hebrew community from the narrative of

[1] Even, as it would seem, the Decalogue. See Ex. xx. 10, "the stranger that is within thy gates" (*i.e.* cities), and v. 12. Cf. note to § 474.

the wanderings in the Desert.[1] We can only resume the inquiry at the point where the life of the nation can be considered to be fairly begun in its permanent home. We may then, and not till then, practically apply the prescription of the Law to the problems of the public and private life of Israel.

[1] The details of the census and muster-roll have only a mechanical basis and do not rest on any social or political movement. The tribal principle, moreover, is there still the governing one.

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT IN CANAAN

§ 465. Political and social transitions are hard to understand and describe. Contemporaries usually fail to realize them because of the slowness of the processes. Or they fail to apprehend and estimate the causes on account of the multiplicity of the phenomena and the apparent complexity of their interaction. Later ages are at a loss because of lack of information, or perhaps still more frequently from the absence of intellectual and moral sympathy. The transition in Israel from the nomadic stage to the usages and achievements of settled life in Canaan is one of the most misunderstood passages of ancient history. General observations are first in order, because misapprehensions as to the general conditions are widely prevalent. First of all, it behooves us to guard against the common error that the transition was brief and rapid. The very opposite is the truth. Rather may it be almost affirmed that the transition stage was prolonged indefinitely. Certainly some sections of the population never fully emerged from the nomadic state. I do not now refer to the minor traces of tribalism in the permanent beliefs and social prejudices of the people. These were almost ineradicable, and they were only slowly extruded by the force of prophetic universalism (§ 399). Actual dwellers in tents, forming distinct communities, were found up to the very close of the monarchy, after a residence within Israel from the very beginning of the settlement (Jer. xxxv. 6 ff; cf. § 416). Larger or smaller communities of shepherds

were scattered over extensive districts, not merely east of the Jordan, where they formed the prevailing type, but in Canaan proper as well, particularly in the territory of Judah. Even when these aggregations clustered about fixed centres, the manners and traditions of the nomad still prevailed. The difficulty of abrogating the essential tribal law of blood-revenge was anticipated in the fundamental legislation (Ex. xxi. 13). The practice continued to prevail in the near neighbourhood of Jerusalem in the earlier days of the kingdom (2 Sam. xiv. 7). The common speech of the people bears testimony to the permanence of the ancient social institutions. "To your tents, O Israel!"[1] was the watchword of insurrection in times long after the encampment had been abandoned as the centre of national life (1 K. xii. 16; cf. 2 Sam. xx. 1). In the days of Hezekiah (Isa. xxxiii. 20; 701 B.C.), and even at the close of the Exile (Isa. liv. 2; cf. Jer. x. 20), the tent is still the symbol of the community. It is only in New Testament times that it becomes the symbol of an individual life (2 Cor. v. 1; 2 Pet. i. 13 f.).

§ 466. The importance of the tenacity of the nomadic spirit, along with the persistence of the nomadic habit, is not easily overestimated. Its suggestions for our immediate purpose are obvious. But its significance is not exhausted by its influence on the historical development of later Israel. The perpetual survivals, gaunt and rugged or kindly and gentle, of the genius of tribalism — in social usage, in religious belief, in the administration of justice, in the lingering reminiscences of word and phrase — testify eloquently and convincingly to a long antecedent history of the Hebrew community separate from the nations (Numb. xxiii. 9). This is a monument, variously inscribed, that speaks trumpet-tongued where so many other voices are silent. The assumption that the Hebrews had but a brief corporate existence before they appeared

[1] A phrase implying a return to the primary independence of nomadic life, and a renouncing of allegiance to a centralizing monarch.

on the borders of Canaan can be shown from these memorials, if by nothing else, to be a baseless figment.

§ 467. A clear distinction must, however, be made between the condition of the population as a whole and that of the less numerous and influential portion of the community which retained to the end a preference for the institutions and manners of the wilderness. This latter element it is not necessary to take particularly into account for the study of Hebrew society, except as affording illustration of primitive habits. With regard to the historic Israel, we may mark as a clear dividing point, in social as well as in political progress, the era of the establishment of monarchy. Before this epoch, the condition of Israel in Palestine may be characterized as *semi-nomadic*. This crisis, strictly speaking, marks the limit of the above indicated period of transition. The tendencies and movements that made for consolidation and complexity of social structure multiplied rapidly as soon as a central authority was established. And, as we have seen (§ 50; cf. 188 ff.), a wide extension of power was not attained by any of the leaders of Israel till the founding of the kingdom.

§ 468. Centralization was, in fact, impossible without the monarchy. There is probably no instance on record of a voluntary confederation of tribes, except where the society has remained essentially of the nomadic type. When nomads come to exchange the desert for the plantations or bazars or factories of fixed settlements, they break up into separate communities, and are united, if at all, only by force. This general fact throws light upon the original settlement of Palestine by the Canaanites, who are found to have had the kingly government only in petty city-states (§ 36 f.). The nomadic origin of these communities is thus apparent apart from general presumptive evidence. What would have become of the Hebrew people if the monarchy had not been instituted is perhaps problematical. But their fate would in all likelihood have been that of their predecessors. As agri-

culturists, tradespeople, and artisans, their continuance under this semi-nomadic type of society was out of the question. The period of intertribal strife and anarchy, of which the closing chapters of the book of Judges give so mournful an account, would have been prolonged until in sheer weariness the distracted tribesmen had gathered around their respective local centres of population and chosen for themselves leaders and "judges" independent of former associations. The enterprise of Abimelech (Jud. ix.) would have been repeated with greater success than his in many cities, and numerous petty kingdoms would have replaced the ideal of a united Israel. It was the unifying bond of a common allegiance to Jehovah, and the perpetual sense of common danger, that mainly kept the tribes together. But even these would not have much longer sufficed. How clear a proof is afforded by even the precarious coherence of the fragments of Israel that the time of the Judges did not extend over many generations! To have survived a century and a half of abnormal distracting and exhausting social vicissitudes is itself an evidence of unequalled racial and national vitality.

§ 469. But we are anticipating some of the results of a more special examination. What are our data for determining the character of the Hebrew community and its gradual development during this period of transition? It is fortunate that while no direct delineation of the manners and usages of the time has been left us, we still have a twofold illustration of the subject which leaves nothing to be desired for pictorial and clarifying effect. We have on the one hand the incidental notices of the historical books, especially of Judges and Samuel; on the other, we have the laws and kindred prescriptions, which were framed for the guidance of the people during the early years of the settlement. The one enlightens us from without; the other illumines the subject from within. As to the complementary matter of the growth of the

community, our main recourse will be to trace the necessary workings of the institutions of Israel within the shifting boundary lines of the families, the clans, the tribes, and the nation.

§ 470. We naturally first inquire into the social and political status of the Hebrews at the time when they entered Canaan. If our conclusions already drawn are at all well founded, there is no difficulty in making at least a general answer to the question. What we were able to gather as to their condition in Egypt indicated that they were something more than ordinary bands of desert rovers. We found strong presumptive evidence of solidarity, of a grade of culture much advanced beyond barbarism, of such an increase in numbers as would justify their hope of becoming a nation (§ 436 ff.). Their subsequent life in the wilderness more than confirms the supposition. Their great need was a better organization and the inspiration of a national feeling. At least the beginnings were made in the way of discipline and of political education (§ 454 ff.). They became habituated under the direction and training of Moses to a wider outlook than the bounds of the family or the tribe, to a richer hope than the mere expectation of daily bread. Just as their survival of the long oppression in Egypt testifies to their inherent vitality and their numerical strength, so their triumph over the dangers and disintegrating forces of their long desert wanderings avouches their increasing fitness to cope with more destructive and more insidious foes than Pharaoh and his taskmasters.

§ 471. But it would be a cardinal error to confine this advance to a mere augmentation of military power or of external resources generally. What was vital and potential in their development was the awakening and nourishing of a spirit of heroic endeavour, an assurance of a larger national destiny than the occupation and retention of the most eligible oasis of northern Arabia. Without such an inspiration, the possession of a permanent home in Canaan

would have been to them an impossibility. Now that we see how they were animated by such a spirit, we perceive also that the feeling must have been widespread and general; that it was, so to speak, a corporate conviction. What it really had for its vitalizing and nourishing principle was a common faith in Jehovah, the God of Israel. Rude and immature as this faith must have been, it was yet deeply rooted. And — what we are specially to mark — it was a national feeling. It drew its energizing force from motives broader and deeper than the interests or the ambitions of the family or the kin or the clan. Cherished as it was by individuals, it was not cherished primarily as a merely personal sentiment. Such a thing was simply unimaginable in ancient Oriental society, where the single individual life was an anomaly and a religious as well as social disability. The family group, the clan, or the tribe was the horizon of the world into which the early Hebrew was born. And if his thought and imagination ranged beyond the widest of these limits, it could only be because he had already become virtually a citizen of a *state*, a component element of a nation. Such an assumption, I repeat, is demanded for Israel at the time of the occupation of Canaan, and in virtue of the very fact of that occupation.

§ 472. We are justified in proceeding a step further. When we recognize accomplished facts universally admitted, we must be prepared to accept all the necessary antecedents. The conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews, while it supports the Biblical presuppositions as to their political and social status, confirms also the Biblical statements as to the successive stages and the method of the occupation. The general course of the conquest, as we gather it from the accounts given in Numbers and Joshua, is to the following effect. The Hebrews at first made an attempt upon the southern border of Palestine, and, having failed in this, they, after a lengthy period of preparation, moved upon Canaan from the eastern side. Territory

to the east of the Jordan was taken from a formidable remnant of the Amorites in Gilead and Bashan, and in this region the tribes of Reuben and Gad and a portion of Manasseh received their possessions. Canaan proper was entered at Jericho. From this point of vantage the subjection of the country was gradually effected. The correctness of this view of the matter was taken for granted in the historical summary given in our first volume (§ 183 ff.). The reasonableness of the scheme has commended it to general acceptance by critics and historians. Even those who reject all the details of the sacred narrative admit at least that the entrance was made from the eastern side, and that the territory of Reuben and Gad was occupied and cultivated by Hebrews before Western Palestine was entered by them.

§ 473. Added assurance may be gained from a few brief considerations. (1) Canaan proper at the time of the Exodus could not have been entered successfully from the south except by an invading force vastly superior in war to anything which the Hebrews could muster. The natural defences on the south and west of the hill country, and the barriers in the way of marching have always practically decided this question. (2) The phenomenon of the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews can only be explained on the assumption that the decisive movement was made by a wholesale, systematic, simultaneous invasion[1] by all the Hebrew clans together. The Canaanites were no doubt divided by their political genius and their long habit of segregation in their walled cities. But any

[1] Stade, GVI. p. 116 ff., 132 ff., while denying on critical grounds the whole story of the military operations of Israel east of the Jordan, tries to show how the Hebrews became an agricultural people in that region, and then, through an increase of the population beyond the nourishing capacity of the country, migrated by detachments into Western Palestine. Wellhausen, the leader of his school, shows more historical insight (see *Skizzen*, etc., p. 7 and 14; and IJG. p. 14 f.). Stade's theory of the occupation is fully disproved by G. A. Smith, HG. p. 659 ff.; cf. 274 ff.

considerable section of them was still strong enough to beat back a divided Israel, in spite of their losses through former invasions (§ 166 f.). (3) The Biblical story of the Exodus, the attempt on Southern Palestine, the desert marching, the attack from the east, the line of invasion, and the method of the conquest, is the only account that has come down to us of a unique event otherwise inexplicable. But, what is of equal importance, the main converging lines of the tradition harmonize with one another, and the essential elements of the whole representation are mutually consistent. If Israel's survival of the long Egyptian residence, the Exodus, the leadership of a great commander and organizer, the occupation of Canaan itself, are indisputable matters of history, then all of the material facts that set forth the successive stages in the action are not only natural, but we may even say necessary.

§ 474. We may now pass on to a consideration of the process of settlement and of the ways in which the new settlers grew and changed in their permanent home. A glance at the code of laws contained in Ex. xx.–xxiii., commonly called the "Book of the Covenant," reveals the fact that it was intended for a people who had advanced beyond, but not very far beyond, the pastoral stage. Cities are never once alluded to directly,[1] and there is not a single statute which necessarily has to do with conditions of life in walled towns. On the other hand, most of the enactments refer expressly to agricultural conditions, and most of the remainder imply them. The direct explanation of the phenomenon is obvious. The Hebrews for a long while after the general invasion did not inhabit cities, at least not in large bodies. Of those which they

[1] In the fourth commandment of the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 10), the phrase "thy client (*gēr*) that is within thy gates" is quite exceptional and is supposed by some to be of Deuteronomic origin. Notice that in the passage (Ex. xxi. 13) referring to an asylum for the innocent manslayer, the word "place" is used, and not the term "city" of refuge, which is the form used in Deuteronomy and the priestly code.

early succeeded in conquering, they occupied at first but few. One reason, therefore, is connected with the usage and policy of victorious invaders generally. As a rule, an alternative was struck between two entirely different kinds of treatment. When an enemy was rebellious, excessively turbulent, and permanently dangerous, his cities would be *destroyed*. But the ordinary principle was to put the peoples holding the cities under *tribute*. By this means they became a source of profit to the new occupants of the land, who also had in view their ultimate amalgamation, and the consequent strengthening of the dominant people. After a conquest was effected in any district, it was not so difficult as might be supposed to keep the Canaanites tributary, since (§ 37; cf. § 35) they were accustomed to live in small, isolated communities. Thus they were in many instances allowed to continue their old manner of life, though the towns themselves were invested by a sufficient garrison (2 Sam. viii. 6, 14) [1] to keep order and prevent conspiracy or revolt.

§ 475. Again, the Hebrews did not as a rule live in the conquered cities during the earlier stages of the settlement, because they were not at all adapted or inclined to such a life. There were among them few of the commercial or industrial class. What they preferred to do was to occupy plantations and estates, once the property of the people of the land, and have them worked by their slaves, most of whom were naturally subjugated Canaanites. Vineyards, olive yards, barley and wheat fields, were found ready at hand. For the cattle which they brought with them pasture was available; nor was it necessary to turn many of them to agricultural uses, since the oxen and the asses and the sheep of their serfs became their property along with the former owners. The prominence of these animals as valuable possessions in the earliest legislation is very noticeable. Equally remarkable is

[1] As was done by the Philistines among the Hebrews themselves, 1 Sam. xiv. 1 ff.

the absence of all mention of the horse and the camel. Not that these animals were not familiar to the residents of Canaan. The camel was an indispensable means of communication with the desert and the lands beyond. The horse was, to be sure, not used by the Hebrews in agriculture in the earlier times,[1] nor yet for riding, probably not even for war. Yet we cannot suppose it to have been entirely discarded in Canaan, where it had been in vogue for military purposes since the Egyptian times. The point to be noticed is that all other animals than the ox, the ass, and the sheep were irrelevant to the jurisprudence of a society which was so purely agricultural. Other indications of the sphere of application of this body of laws are the statutes relating to the protection (xxii. 5 f.) and cultivation (xxiii. 10 ff.) of fields and vineyards, to the law of the first-fruits, and to that of the three great feasts. But, indeed, surviving features of the pastoral life so slowly abandoned are everywhere apparent. Cattle are not only of practical service; they constitute, also, the chief capital or chattels. Justice is to be carried on according to the elementary principles of retaliation and compensation. "Personal injuries fall under the law of retaliation, just as murder does. The principle of retaliation is conceived as legitimate vengeance (xxi. 20, 21, *margin*). Except in this form there is no punishment, but only compensation."[2]

§ 476. Enough has been said to indicate at least the general condition of the people for many decades after the settlement. Broadly speaking, this semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural type of society prevailed throughout the period of the Judges. It was inevitable that it should be so. Not one generation or two could convert a race of cattle-tenders into tradesmen, or dwellers in

[1] Isa. xxviii. 28, however, refers to long-established usages. It has been suspected that the reading is wrong, because the term used is the one employed for chariot-horses.

[2] W. R. Smith, OTJC. 1st ed. p. 336; cf. 2d ed. p. 340 f.

tents into builders of cities. The whole atmosphere of the contemporary records is redolent of the life of shepherds and husbandmen. The song of Deborah and the book of Ruth represent the same social conditions all the more vividly from their poetic and idyllic character. The leading men up to the new era under David were men of the country or inhabitants of villages. David himself was the last of that renowned order of nobility. It is the land-holder with his retinue of "servants" who is the representative man in this democracy, the man of force and worth.[1] How different it became under the rule of the Kings, when this same land-owner, the first among his equals, became a peer in the new order of nobility! He speedily developed into the grasping, oppressive land-grabber, having his residence in the city, reducing the small peasant proprietor to serfdom, and by this inversion of the natural order of things in Israel subverting the foundations of the state.

§ 477. Clearness of conception on these points is essential. No sudden revolution was accomplished in the manners and habits of Israel by their change of residence. To adapt a figure of Victor Hugo,[2] the curve of the transition was never so much increased as that progress was thereby checked. The most outstanding fact has been already referred to (§ 474), but it needs further elucidation. Life in large and powerful cities was almost unknown to the Hebrews till the kingly era, though the necessity of gathering-places and walled towns early made

[1] The Hebrew word for wealth (חיל) is the same as that for capacity and moral worth. Hence the two notions are often combined in descriptions of men or types of character. It is noticeable that the magistrates who were to be appointed according to Ex. xviii. (§ 455) were to be men of this double qualification (v. 21, 25). A man proved his worth by his possessions (cf. Job). It was only in the later times of changed social conditions that poverty and affliction were esteemed as compatible with moral excellence. This should be borne in mind in connection with the relative ages of several compositions of disputed date (cf. § 605).

[2] *Les Misérables*, Part IV, Book I, ch. ii.

itself felt (§ 483 f., 501). This appears plainly enough from the historical notices. We are familiar with Shiloh, Bethel, Gilgal, Ramah, Gibeah. These are among the places mentioned in Judges and Samuel as the scenes of activity or centres of influences. They are all at best insignificant towns. They were defended by walls and gates, as a matter of course, but they were not the historical fortresses known to us from the annals of Thothmes III (§ 145), the El Amarna tablets (§ 152), the monuments of Ramses II (§ 163), or even those detailed in the lists of Joshua and Judges. Those cities that were overcome by the Hebrews in the combined onslaught of the first stage of the invasion we must assume to have been only slowly rebuilt. With those that remained, intermittent war of the guerilla sort was waged, with the result that many of them became finally tributary (Jud. i. 28 ff.), and the rest were not subdued at all till the era of the monarchy. Shechem plays a prominent rôle; but it was then a Canaanitish town. Most of the cities of Canaan were really made over again. Those that were destroyed were renewed in outward form. Those that survived were transformed in the character of their population. There was but one way for the Hebrews to fulfil their destiny, and that was to conform to it. Even the cities which they found ready made they could not at first utilize. The Hebrew city, no less than the Canaanitic, was an institution, an affair of growth and development. Even the gate of the elders (Ruth iv. 1 f.), the nucleus of the city, was irrelevant to the Hebrew society of the earlier years of the occupation. The council must still be held before the tent of the tribal or family chief. No doubt new forms of social integration were speedily manifested. Small communities began to crystallize, especially around business and religious centres, and thus the new was blended with the old in the civic life of Israel.

§ 478. The political progress of the Hebrews at the end of the first half-century may be roughly indicated.

Northern and Central Palestine were still more fully taken up by the new settlers than was the south country (§ 186 ff.). Many of the larger fortresses (on elevated points) were still held by the Canaanites. The valleys were mainly but not exclusively (Jud. i. 19) occupied and cultivated by the newcomers. The importance of this circumstance is plain. If Israel is, on the whole, stronger than Canaan, the latter may be more isolated than ever before. For the command of the lowlands and the ravines makes communication easy on every side. The native fortresses are being surrounded by a network of hostile forces, which is drawn closer and tighter till political life and movement are stilled. But the process is long, and here and there a strong and ancient fortress like Jerusalem is able to hold out and command the surrounding district, even till the time of David, the restorer of Israel and the final conqueror of Canaan. The length of the task of subjugation attests its slowness and difficulty. It is, indeed, plain that no combined effort could be made to dislodge Israel after the days of Joshua. But many a time did the beleaguered Canaanites swoop down upon the Hebrew settlements, harassed as these often were by outside foes.

§ 479. Scanty reminiscences flash out now and then an illuminating gleam over the obscurity of the period. Particularly suggestive is the episode of Shamgar. According to the Song of Deborah (Jud. v. 6) the Hebrews of Central Palestine were, in his time, sorely pressed. "The highways were unused," because the Canaanites had taken advantage of the losses inflicted in the recent invasion by Moab to lie in wait for travellers and messengers, shepherds and field-labourers, and thus to cut off communication between the settlements of Israel. Manifestly numerous formidable castles and fortresses were still manned by Canaanites about 1100 B.C., "so the wayfarers used to walk by circuitous paths." A sudden raid by the Philistines is announced. They

broke into the plain of Megiddo by the well-frequented route upon which they were often later to march. We are simply told (Jud. iii. 31) that "Shamgar, the son of Anath, smote of the Philistines six hundred men with ox-goads." But how instructive is the picture! A hasty levy brings out a band of sturdy shepherds. These are not the only warriors of Israel; but they are the surest and readiest. The kernel of the nation is still pastoral! Spears and perhaps a few swords (§ 514) are to be had elsewhere. But to this old chief and his men the accustomed weapons are nearest at hand, and wielded by them they are sufficient. The Philistines are beaten back. But a more desperate foe is preparing a more formidable array. The last great struggle is to be waged for the possession of the fairest and most coveted portion of Palestine. Israel has, by dint of long and gradual aggression, gained the richest districts on the southern side of the valley of Jezreel, and in the fertile plain itself. Naphtali and Zebulon are encroaching slowly and surely upon the Canaanitic reserves to the west of the Lake of Galilee. The time is favourable for retrieval and revenge. Israel is disunited. The tribes have ceased to act in common. In any case they cannot communicate with one another. "The peasantry are no more, they are no more" (v. 7). On whom should Israel rely? A chief and chieftainess arise. The covenant at Sinai has still its power to bind the people of Jehovah. Deborah, the chieftainess, is also a "prophetess" (cf. § 423). She knows the secret of Israel's strength: unity in a common devotion to Jehovah. She inspires the general, Barak, not merely with her zeal against the enemy, but with her faith in Jehovah. In spite of the "circuitous ways" the leaders of the clans are reached. All Israel is once more aroused, though all do not respond. The battle is fought on the banks of the famous "old river Kishon" (v. 21). Again the victory is with Israel, though again the people are short of weapons.

§ 480. It is plain that we have arrived here at a critical point. With this last general struggle against the Canaanites Israel stood at the parting of the ways, religiously, politically, and socially. No wonder that a great national ode was now sung and forever preserved! The old tribal brotherhood was breaking up, and Israel could not present a united front against its foes till a century of disintegration and readjustment had passed. This was the last great gathering of the clans. Hitherto three powerful motives had kept together, in emergencies at least, the dominant central tribes.[1] These were fidelity to Jehovah, the need of common action against the Canaanites, and the tribal organization. For political and social advantage the last is the most potent of the three. Religion, the first motive, is at bottom a personal matter. Its outward expression in ancient society — ceremony, ritual, sacrifice — is, no doubt, the strongest uniting bond, the fundamental basis, and the enduring symbol of corporate fellowship. But when external influences intervene to prevent common worship on more than a local scale, when new modes of life supervene upon and gradually supplant the old, then the religious feeling more easily finds satisfaction with a shorter pilgrimage, at a nearer shrine, with new fellow-worshippers, it may be, or even with unaccustomed or modified rites. So was it with Israel after a few decades of the new conditions of life in Canaan.

§ 481. This was one of the main reasons why a single central sanctuary was prescribed, a requirement which thus had a strong political as well as moral justification. But it is easy to see how difficult it then was of realization. And without this centralization of worship, a common faith in Jehovah, which was the main inspiration of national feeling, could not be maintained. We may put the case briefly. Trust in the God of Israel had

[1] In Barak's army were represented Zebulon, Naphtali, Issachar, Manasseh, Ephraim, Benjamin.

brought the tribes together to the borders of Canaan. It had made their first attacks successful. It had kept them united, at least in the decisive struggles, until the power of the Canaanites was broken. But it failed as a common impulse against the divisive forces which henceforth prevailed until the new monarchical principle brought the people together once more under new conditions. We may observe, moreover, that the worship of Jehovah ceased to be an enthusiastic, inspiring, national sentiment, not merely because of the development of local interests leading to the establishment of local assemblies, or because of the distracting effect of subsequent attacks here and there on the borders of Israel and actual devastations of its territory; but, above all, because of the disturbing and deteriorating influences of the Canaanitic worship itself.

§ 482. It may be remarked, further, that it was the influence of the *cities* that was most strongly felt in this direction.[1] Hebrew society in Canaan was purer and freer in its original seats among the pastures and the plantations. The cities, which remained so largely Canaanitic in population, if not always in allegiance, became ever more and more a menace to the worship and a snare to the worshippers of Jehovah. Thus we see that the same tendencies which made for social disintegration and the relaxing of the tribal bonds, promoted also religious degeneration, infidelity, and consequent disunion. And so we find all the three motives to united action and sentiment simultaneously weakened and corrupted.

[1] Thus we find that instances of idolatry are mentioned in connection with cities. For example the altar of Ba'al, under the immediate protection of the father of Gideon, has as its defenders "the men of the city" (Jud. vi. 27 ff.). It was the Ba'al of the city of Shechem that seduced the neighbouring Hebrews after the death of Gideon (Jud. viii. 33; cf. ix. 46). The same thing is true of the practice of gross licentiousness. For instance, it is in the town of Gibeah of Benjamin that those deeds were wrought which aroused the Hebrew tribes to a sense of the awful degeneration of morals brought about by association with the Canaanites (Jud. xix.).

§ 483. We may say, broadly speaking, that it was the effort to adjust itself to the needs and obligations of life in cities that brought about the disruption of Hebrew society as a necessary step towards its reorganization in higher and more efficient forms. It is not difficult to draw an outline sketch of the elementary community which is typical of this intermediate stage. How the Semitic city of the ancient time was founded, how it grew, how it was constituted, and how it was governed we have already seen (§ 31 ff.). These more outward aspects may now be supplemented by an account of its inner life and movement. It is often said that Oriental manners do not change, and that a modern Eastern town offers a good representation of an ancient city of Palestine. There is much that is true in the suggestion, but much also that is misleading. Every great period in the history of every race of mankind impresses its own distinctive symbolism of outward expression, not merely upon the figures and faces of men, but also upon all the works of their hands, their habitations, and their whole mechanical environment. In all the products of human action there are marks of life and thought and, therefore, also the conditions of variation as well as of perpetuation of form and type. National character is depicted in the construction of houses, the style of their furniture, and in the products of the useful arts generally, as well as in the physical movement, the address, and the social bearing of the men of the time.

§ 484. Such features of the special life of the Hebrew city we cannot wholly reproduce. But of some matters of interest we may be reasonably sure. We may say, for example, that, except for purposes of war or training for war, or of tribal or national feasts and religious pilgrimages, the city was the exclusive gathering-point of its own proper community. As city or village life grew more and more, the family at the one extreme, and the tribe or even the clan at the other, grew less and less.

The residents of a city might possibly be all or nearly all of the same tribe; they would hardly be all of the same clan, or of the same kin or family group (1 Sam. xx. 6). Their religious services, except upon great occasions, would be held more and more apart. Their work, whether commercial or industrial, would become greatly more specialized. New guilds of tradesmen would be added in the larger cities, such as makers of agricultural implements, carpenters, bricklayers, stonecutters. Hand-mills became the property of nearly every house, but often the larger mills, turned by asses, were used for whole neighbourhoods. Husbandmen, before almost unknown, were now the prevailing type of labouring men. These branched off into several classes. The raising of cereals and of flax and hemp now divided the interests of the bulk of the people with the rearing and tending of cattle. Besides, there was the care of the vine, the fig, and the olive, which represented so largely the productiveness of Palestine. The smiths and founders, the potters and weavers, to keep pace with the demands of the new complex society, now developed into artists and designers. The stationary forge, the wheel, and the loom became the training schools for the ingenuous youth who, in the freer, simpler times, had no apprenticeship to works of skill save in the school of the bow, the sling, and the lance.

§ 485. It is manifest that by the operation of such tendencies Hebrew society was gradually but surely undergoing a revolution. The change from tribal to civic life was, socially, far more radical and distinctive than the movement which later brought about the monarchy. The latter altered the external aspect of the state by giving a common direction and purpose to a number of communities otherwise incapable of united action. But the former was an internal revolution. It created the communities themselves, and determined forever the prevailing type of the social life of Israel. In trying to apprehend this transformation we have been specially con-

cerned with the occasions and forms of the new mode of life in cities. We may now summarily complete this portion of our survey by pointing out how the processes by which the new type of society was evolved brought about, in spite of their benefits, a state of things little short of anarchy, and only to be remedied by the ultimate surrender of individual and communal autonomy.

§ 486. The dominant needs of the whole community were prompt and faithful administration of justice and ample provision for the fulfilment of religious duties. These two requirements, which to us moderns seem inherently distinct, were to the ancient Semites, in their more primitive social stages, practically inseparable. A glance at the modes and agencies of the administration of law during this period is now in order, and will help us to a clear understanding of the whole main question involved. Under the fully developed city government all the essential classes of official life had ample play for their functions. There were first the "elders," who represented the old heads of the families and clans under the tribal system. These functionaries were continued under the new conditions of local government. But hereditary claims, when accompanied by a sufficient property qualification, came at length to be an adequate title to the office (§ 569), and in a society where prescription held such sway the right of no responsible member of the session was likely to be questioned. Their jurisdiction naturally embraced matters of family concern: disputes as to conjugal relations (Deut. xxii. 15 ff.), about inheritances, the division of property,[1] the appointment of the *goël* or

[1] How natural it was for a Palestinian to appeal in such matters to a man eminent for wisdom and justice, even if a perfect stranger, is shown in the incident recorded in Luke xii. 13 f., and which took place in times long subsequent to the "Judges." The difficulty which occurs to us as inevitable from the custom of having a bench of magistrates chosen neither by people nor king is quite imaginary. It is to be noted that the elders sat to be consulted if necessary, not to thrust themselves on any one supposed to be in need of counsel or discipline.

upholder of the family (Ruth iv.), the settlement of blood-revenge (Deut. xix. 12). They also represented the city in controversies with other cities as to responsibility for crime, calamity, and the like (Deut. xxi. 1 ff.).

§ 487. Next there were the local "judges." These were, no doubt, originally appointed as arbitrators. They are not exactly a characteristic institution of civic as opposed to nomadic life, for the Bedawin have their *ḳāḍīs* as well as their *sheichs*. They naturally came more and more to the front as new classes of cases arose for which the law of the tribe or the family had made no provision. Such cases, for example, as are dealt with in the "Book of the Covenant" (§ 474) must have led to complications for which no precedent could be found. And it is significant that the term "judges" does not occur in that primary legislation. Yet the function is foreshadowed in the mention of "arbitrators" (E.V. "judges" Ex. xxi. 22) to whom appeal was to be made in a certain case of special difficulty. What the "judges" eventually had to do fall accordingly under two heads. They had to decide cases of appeal from the ordinary bench of elders at the city gates; they had also to administer the new legislation as it arose, and to establish precedents in unforeseen and novel instances. They were, doubtless, as a rule, taken from the body of the elders of the city, and also, when the more complete organization of the kingly time came into vogue (§ 530 f.), from the "princes" or chiefs of the military or fiscal divisions larger or smaller. With the further development of the kingdom the "judges" naturally became more important as compared with the elders, and played a great part in the social and moral history of the nation.

§ 488. A third kind of judicial function is that exercised by the priests, and later, also, by prophets.[1] In the

[1] The difference between the position of the two classes does not lie so much in the binding force of their respective decisions as in the fact that the priests were from the first *official* judges, whereas the prophets were

Hebrew terminology it is called the giving of direction or "teaching" (E.V. "law," *tōrat*), and it developed in the ministry of the prophets into absolutely immeasurable importance. Resort or appeal to the priest or prophet is called coming "unto God" (*e.g.* Ex. xxi. 6; xxii. 8),[1] because the priest, or the prophet, was the direct representative of Jehovah. The term "direction" represents precisely the primary and fundamental notion of these decisions. They were essentially of an advisory character, and thus constituted the "oracle" of the Hebrews. As originally each family group had its own priest, resort was naturally had to him for light on practical difficulties, not so much the settling of disputes as pointing out the safe, judicious, or righteous way for the individual or the household in embarrassment. And a glance at the instances of such appeals recorded in the Old Testament will show that they were always mainly of the same character, though often on a larger scale. But as the genius of the true religion abhors what is conventional and perfunctory, the part played by the priests receives little emphasis, and that borne by the prophets comes always more and more into prominence, until we find them swaying the destinies of the whole nation by "the word of Jehovah." The subject is fascinating as well as fruitful. In this connection I can only add that this third kind of "judgment" differed from the other two in this respect, among others, that the oracle of the priest or the prophet had no outward compulsion, while the elders and the judges had apparently not only judicial but also executive functions, according to the practice and principles of ancient Semitic jurisprudence. This distinction brings out into clearer relief the nearness of

appealed to on account of their wisdom and spiritual authority. It was, of course, as a "prophet" that Jesus was appealed to in the case above cited.

[1] R.V. margin, "judges." The reader will see that this rendering is not strictly correct. In Ex. xxii. 28, it is entirely erroneous.

priest and prophet to Jehovah himself. What was essentially of the character of a *revelation* carried with it its own warrant. It was only when it became materialized into statute law that it needed to be administered by a set of officials (cf. § 590).

§ 489. Yet these more superficial distinctions must not blind us to the comprehensive general fact that all law was essentially of a religious character. Primarily the family head, who was also the priest of his own household, directed his family according to the counsel of God (Gen. xviii. 19, etc.). And as the Hebrew commonwealth expanded, the same fundamental principle continued to be recognized that Jehovah was the ultimate fountain of all legislation. To this it was an obvious corollary that his direct representatives wielded a unique authority as law-givers. Passing over the more notorious cases of Moses and Aaron, it is sufficient to cite the fact that many of the "judges" were priests or prophets, and that they were also permitted to offer sacrifices upon occasion. Now we may note the connection between the administration of justice and the observance of religious obligations on the part of the people at large. In the first place we observe that any laxity, irregularity, or deterioration of the religious services, which were the normal function of the priests, necessarily robbed the legal codes of their dignity and prestige, and, besides, checked or corrupted justice at its very fountain. Again (and this brings us back to our point of departure), if any influences, either local or national, interfered to prevent or seduce the members of the several communities from attending the prescribed religious ordinances, they would be thrown more completely upon the often inadequate local courts for the settlement of matters of controversy. It was to prevent both the tendency and the results that the national or sectional judges were appointed. It was certainly the purpose of the Mosaic legislation to have a court of appeal (Ex. xviii. *et al.*) or of central jurisdiction; and

one great end of the whole system was virtually nullified when this was neglected or contemned.

§ 490. Notoriously this ideal of a single religious and a single judicial centre was never fully realized for all Israel in the long period of the Judges. What then shall we say of the several leading centres?[1] Of them, too, it must be confessed that they failed to secure a tolerable measure of moral and social benefit for the people. One after another their influence and prestige declined. Even Shiloh, the most renowned among them all both as a seat of religion and of justice, the home of the Ark and of its tabernacle, came to an end as a resort of pilgrims and oracle-seekers. It would be a mistake to suppose that it ever served as such for the whole of Israel. We never hear of its clients extending beyond the plain of Jezreel on the north or as far as Hebron on the south. But for the central tribes it was long without a rival for sanctity and attractiveness. It was at the height of its popularity and influence under the régime of Eli and his sons, priests and judges of Israel. It did not survive their administration. The inefficiency and corruption of Hophni and Phinehas would in any case have hastened its downfall, which took place shortly after their régime was brought to its tragic close (1 Sam. iv. 11 ff.). The circumstances of the day of its visitation have not been recorded. We only know that it was overwhelmed by such a sudden and awful calamity that the event was recalled with horror through all the following centuries (Jer. vii. 14; xxvi. 6; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 60).

§ 491. This catastrophe marks a crisis and an epoch in the political as well as in the social and religious his-

[1] How such resorts necessarily sprang up here and there according to the needs of the scattered settlers, is shown in the case of Abel-Beth-Maacah, which, as we are told in 2 Sam. xx. 18, was famous as a centre of good counsel sought out by all the country-side. Verse 19 indicates at the same time its importance as the home of a large community, "a mother in Israel."

tory of the time. Just as the last general rally under Deborah and Barak was the conclusion of the first main period of the history of the Hebrew settlement in Canaan (§ 480), so this failure of centralized administration and worship, upon a scale only less than national, marks the beginning of the end in this whole probationary formative era. After their decisive overthrow the Canaanites ceased to play more than a local and insignificant part as a foe of the Hebrew commonwealth. Meanwhile other peoples had harassed Hebrews and Canaanites alike. Above all, the half-foreign Philistines (§ 192; cf. § 166, note) had become more than mere raiders (§ 479), and were now threatening the independence and the hope of Israel.

§ 492. The onslaughts of the Philistines, as well as the preceding attacks of other foreigners, must be reckoned both as a disintegrating and as a unifying force among the tribes of Israel. As long as loyalty and devotion to Jehovah, which were much the same thing as patriotism, continued to animate the Hebrew people, the assaults of outsiders formed one of the strongest means of bringing and keeping them together. Indeed, the mere sense of danger continued throughout the whole history of the people to act of itself as a wholesome cohesive force. On the other hand, a successful invasion, followed by even a brief occupation of territory, necessarily kept the ill-cemented tribes and smaller communities apart.

§ 493. We have now to add another occasion of separation more dangerous and noxious still. Allusion has just been made to the defeat of the last formidable combination of the native Canaanites. This final military triumph does not carry with it the significance suggested by a victory over a deadly hereditary foe. The conquest was dearly bought. It was followed by, nay it even involved, disaster to the victors more deadly than the losses inflicted by Sisera with his chariots of iron. The

friendship of the Canaanites was more dangerous than their enmity. The latter implied, at least, that the worship of Baal would have no hold upon the people of Jehovah. The former was in itself a compromise between the two religions. Of the friendliness between the two peoples during the latter half of the period of the Judges we have abundant evidence. The truces that had been made, sometimes as a *modus vivendi*, sometimes as a necessary alliance against a common invader, became at length a permanent peace (cf. 1 Sam. vii. 14). The conflicts of armies had, at first, given place to local feuds, to attacks upon and sorties from one walled town or another (§ 478). Even these had come to an end before the time of Samuel. The result was, in fact, something like an amalgamation. The issue, as we have seen, depended upon the fate of the Canaanitic cities. That these became even nominally Hebrew implied an amalgamation of the races. As far as the south was concerned, the way had been prepared very early by the adoption, on the part of Judah, of large foreign elements, chief among which were Kenites and Calebites. This far-reaching movement doubtless encouraged a similar *rapprôchement* throughout the whole of Israel. Outwardly, no doubt, the process of union was in the guise of an absorption of the Canaanites by their Hebrew adversaries. Moreover, the union implied of necessity an acknowledgment, on the part of the weaker, of the God of the stronger (§ 61). But where the acquiescent population was at all considerable a gradual union of the two parties was the actual result.

§ 494. This was the compromise, the surrender of the pure worship of Jehovah, so dreaded by the great Prophet of the olden time and by all loyal Israelites ever after his day. We shall appreciate the situation better if we try to follow the process in our imagination. The numerous surviving cities of the Canaanites, occupying as they so often did the sites of the "high places," came to be occu-

pied, or a least controlled, by the dominant Hebrew population. What could be easier than that which actually took place? We must remember that Israel had now for scores of years been following on the whole a career of selfish aggressiveness. However much the original leaders may have cherished a more spiritual and ideal view of the outcome of the conquest, we may be sure that the mass of the tribesmen thought of the matter as a business of acquiring wealth and ease. The sphere of religion simply afforded new chances of self-aggrandizement and social advantage, coupled with rare facilities for a congenial fashion of worship.

§ 495. Religious service was inseparable from the daily life and work of all the Semitic peoples. What could be more obvious than the opportunity of utilizing the local sanctuaries which were already so flourishing and influential? What more easy than the ready device of honouring Jehovah and serving Baal? How simple a thing to appropriate the ready-made altars and shrines of Baal, and to convert them to the service of Jehovah! How easy to secure a host of retainers and patrons for the God of Israel, by permitting the votaries of the time-honoured shrines to continue their ancient ritual and to unite therewith the name and prestige of Jehovah! And how inevitable it was that the servants of Jehovah should adopt the ceremonies proper to the prescriptive cult of the locality! For these were redolent of the flavour and spirit of the very soil. They were repeated and perpetuated as naturally as the rising of the sun and the changes of the moon, the alternation of the seasons, the bloom of the flowers, and the ripening of the fruits. The very ties that bound the Hebrews to the land of Canaan were bonds which attached them most intimately and alluringly to the gods of the land. To learn outwardly that their dearly bought home was Jehovah's land, was a lesson speedily acquired. But the rivals of Israel's God, who claimed his prerogatives and actually assumed his name, could only be sub-

verted when the outward acknowledgment and service of Jehovah became transformed into the pure worship of the heart and the willing obedience of the life. To accomplish this result in Israel was the aim of the prophetic movement, which had already begun before the commonwealth became a monarchy.

§ 496. There is no further need to illustrate the social disintegration of Israel before the days of the monarchy. But a résumé may be given of our leading points of view. The breaking up of the tribal system, inevitable under any form and mode of settlement in a land of cities, villages, and cultivated soil, was not followed by a durable reunion on any extensive scale and resting upon any inner principle of cohesion. Among the occasions and motives of segregation and disruption, emphasis is to be laid upon the want of an administration of justice on a national or even tribal scale, and the failure of any central sanctuary to unify the tribesmen or to attract them as regular worshippers. On the other hand, special attention must be called to the necessary establishment of primitive local courts for the newly formed communities, and to the convenience as well as the attractiveness of the local sacred places which were often the modified reproduction of the Canaanitic shrines. Particular stress should be placed upon the character of the civic communities that sprang up under the new conditions of life in Canaan, in their bearing upon both the political and the religious history of the Hebrews. This form of social aggregation was universal among the Semites after their abandonment of the nomadic life. It was also dominant among the Canaanites at the time of the conquest. Indeed, Israel, through the growth and multiplication of its own and its adopted cities, was fast drifting into Canaanitism.

§ 497. If in the foregoing observations too much importance seems to have been ascribed to the influence of religious associations in recasting and moulding the forms of Hebrew society, I would ask the reader to transfer

himself in imagination to the times, the region, and the people that have been engaging our attention. Let him be reminded that in ancient and especially in Semitic society, religion was the elemental force which swayed most strongly both individual and social life. In thought, feeling, and motive, religion was the factor at once the most comprehensive, the most profound, and the most urgent. Yet it was most powerful as a habit of life and as a condition of social existence. To understand this aright, we should divest the term "religion" of its modern and especially of its Christian associations. Rather we should have to modify the word and call it *religiousness*. It did not always include or imply morality; it was not even necessarily prompted by the spirit of devotion. Indeed, it was compatible with the absence of all the elements which we regard as essential, except that of reverence. Like every other expression of the spirit of humanity, it was rooted both in sentiment and habit, the immaterial and the material, the supersensuous and the sensuous. To the vague but omnipotent and overawing world of the unseen the votary was united by the elastic cord of wonder, hope, and dread. To the visible world he was bound by the iron chain of custom, of ceremony, and of ritual. The power of the one was commensurate with the influence of the other; the manner of the one with the quality of the other. The grosser the beliefs, the more enslaving were the rite and ceremony. The purer the faith, the freer and less stringent were the forms of outward devotion.

§ 498. Reverting for a moment to the prevailing form of political and social life among the people of Canaan and among the Semites generally, I would remind the reader that the very founding of a city was a religious act. The city itself was not the community; but it was its centre, its nursery, and its home. And just as the inner life of the community was mainly based upon and determined by its religious beliefs and customs, so the establishment of that

which guarded it and gave it outward form and character, was a matter primarily of religious concern and control. We are familiar with the sacred rites which accompanied the founding of a city among Greeks and Romans.[1] The records of Semitic history testify also, directly and indirectly, to the sacredness of walls and fortifications, and their consecration to the patron deity. The Hebrew literature [2] tells the same story. For example, the destruction of the Canaanitish cities was not ordained as a military expedient, but as a religious act. The character which the city bore at its foundation it retained throughout its history. Hence it is that we find so many names of localities associated with the deities to whom they were originally dedicated.

§ 499. Another general indication that religious associations and practices were the controlling social force among the ancient Hebrews in Palestine should be particularly noted. I refer to the outstanding fact that the festal gatherings of the people were mainly characterized by religious observances; that every meal shared in common involved a religious sacrifice; that all the public festivities of the people, as well as their mourning and fasting, were stated and conventional, and were, in fact, part of a religious programme. Gatherings of a festal character were regularly held by kins or family groups, and also by clans or by tribes, at stated times or seasons in the month or in the year. Whatever was of interest or importance to each of these divisions of the people naturally also came up for discussion and settlement on these occasions, which

[1] Explained by Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, p. 151 ff.

[2] The prohibition of the rebuilding of Jericho has its explanation in the fact that it had been a city dedicated to false worship. Its very site was therefore doomed. This instance was intended for a precedent for the other cities of the Canaanites. The punishment of Hiel, the Bethelite (1 K. xvi. 34; cf. Josh. vi. 26), was inflicted because by his rebuilding the city he had identified himself with the idolatrous community which had laid its foundations, given it its distinctive character, and thereby rendered it "devoted" to Jehovah (cf. Josh. vi. 17, 21).

thus became a sort of clearing-house for the social and political transactions of the preceding term.

§ 500. An important observation must here be made. During the greater portion of the time of the Judges the political uses of these assemblies and popular gatherings became continually less prominent, while the social purposes remained the chief conserving influence as far as they continued to be maintained. Hence it followed, as a matter of course, that those divisions of the whole community which mainly subserved political ends, found continually less occasion and less internal motive for coming together; while those which were fundamentally of a social character maintained, as far as possible, their prescriptive customs, with all the traditional observances connected therewith. That is to say, according to the distinction made at the beginning of our study (§ 404), the clans and the tribes, being properly political organizations, gradually became dissolved through loss of inward coherence and through outward compulsion, while the families and kins or family groups, as social combinations, retained the good old custom of regular gatherings (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xxi. 6, 29). All this is simply an illustration of the general political disintegration of the Hebrew people as a whole, and of its several political factors, the tribes and clans of Israel (cf. § 480).

§ 501. But it would be a grave misrepresentation of Hebrew history to claim that the changes in the forms and modes of life of the people just described were a real degeneration and deterioration. Religiously, no doubt, the effect of the absorption of the Canaanites was injurious. But the temptation to follow the gods of the land was present in any case (cf. Josh. xxiv. 19 f.); and both piety and moral strength were advanced in the struggle maintained by those who were true to the religion of Jehovah. From the political point of view, the changes were simply unavoidable and in the order of evolution. We have seen (§ 483 ff.) how life in towns or large vil-

lages was begun and fostered, and the character of city institutions formed. It must not be forgotten that life in fortified, or at least protected, towns was absolutely necessary for the principal ends of settled life in Canaan, whether agricultural, commercial, or industrial. For the sheltering and guarding of farm property, including cattle, the principal asset of the farmer, the night patrols of unwalled villages afforded no adequate protection in a well-inhabited country of mixed population. Accordingly, we find that the landowners, in the later period of the Judges and thereafter, dwelt in towns, as also did the regular farm labourers (Ruth ii. 4; Jud. xix. 16; cf. 1 Sam. x. 26). The same thing is, of course, true of other employers of labour and their possessions. While life in large cities was unknown (§ 477), the city [1] was still the normal residence in the times that followed the transition period. As a rule, each man was regarded as belonging to one city or another, and so enrolled as a citizen and taxpayer.

§ 502. The breaking-up of the tribal system, which was involved in the establishment of city life and usages, was therefore in important respects a step in advance, and was a necessary preliminary to that form of government which alone could save Israel both from destruction at the hands of outsiders and from strife and political atrophy within. Add to this that the administration of justice, according to the principle of propinquity and approximate

[1] The city, that is, in the larger sense of the term (as described in § 34 and 38), including the dependent, unwalled hamlets and pasture grounds. Through various causes tending to concentration of the population, particularly the vicissitudes of war and the danger of attacks from bands of robbers, the villages were as rapidly as possible enclosed within walls, with fortress and tower; that is, they became cities. The number of these, even in the semi-pastoral kingdom of Judah, was very great, as we learn from Sinacherib's report of their capture (§ 686; cf. 2 K. xviii. 13). Large estates without elaborate defences, such as that of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv.), were protected by the retainers from ordinary dangers. Cities often owed their origin in any stage of the history of the land to the advantages of sites by fountains or groves, defensible heights, etc. Some, as Samaria, were built directly by the rulers of the time. See Nowack, HA. I. p. 148 f.

numerical grouping, foreshadowed in Exodus xviii. (§ 455), was immensely advanced by aggregation of small communities apart from the associations of tribal life and government. The elders of the city and its judges at the gates took the place of the family or tribal chiefs. With the adjustment of causes arising out of local business and local interests, the only solid foundation possible was laid for the division of the country into larger administrative and judicial districts. The way was prepared, moreover, for the dominion of a sole ruler over a people slowly habituated to the restraints of a legal authority founded upon inherent principles of justice (Deut. xvi. 18; xix. 15 ff.; xxv. 1 ff.), and not upon the imperfect and partial prescriptions of patriarchal government, with its preferential rights of the family and the clan. The reader will find it instructive to note that while the "Book of the Covenant" (§ 474) deals with the entire portion of this long transitional period, the book of Deuteronomy has to do with the completed results of the process, corresponding, as we have seen, to government in cities (Deut. vi. 10; xiii. 12 ff.; xix. 1 ff.; xxi. 2 ff.; xxviii. 3, 16).

§ 503. "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Jud. xvii. 6; xxi. 25; cf. xviii. 1; xix. 1; and § 50). The expression might naturally be interpreted as implying a condition of anarchy pure and simple. It really alludes to the personal independence of the Hebrew freeman without even the theoretical restraints of the monarchy. Perhaps a clearer view of some aspects of social and civic life may be gained from a glance at the home and estate of a representative Hebrew of the later period of the time of the Judges.

§ 504. The subject of our study is a well-to-do landed proprietor of Central Palestine. His home lies within the city walls, and the city is the sphere of his social life. Here also dwell his retainers, except those immediately occupied with the care of the cattle in pasture or of the fruit trees, for whom he has erected booths in which they

pass the night and are armed against marauders. This householder is a devout Israelite and begins the day's work with family, or rather household, devotions. His means have permitted him to engage the services of a Levite as domestic priest, who naturally also officiates in a like capacity for the family group, of which the present household is the dominant centre (cf. Jud. xviii. 19). He has resorted occasionally to the central sanctuary at Shiloh, but has lately found little satisfaction in its ceremonies and sacrifices, mixed as they have been with social festivities and indulgences unfavourable to domestic morality.[1] It is well, he thinks, not to repair thither again till a time of reformation comes. It is not long since the sons of Eli guided the religion of Israel and administered its law, and through them both religion and justice were outraged and profaned. But this evil does not interfere with the religious service of this loyal Israelite. Whether or not the yearly feasts are duly honoured in Shiloh, a still stronger obligation than they impose rests upon him to observe the stated gatherings of his clan at harvest or at vintage time or at sheep shearing; and in these reunions religious offerings hold the primary place.

§ 505. But such sacrifices are, so to speak, only an intensive and extensive manifestation of the sentiment of devotion which claims an habitual expression in the daily worship of the home. No table is spread, no food partaken in common, without the priestly blessing (1 Sam. ix. 13) and the presentation of a portion to Jehovah. All

[1] Comp. Keble, *The Christian Year*, Eighth Sunday after Trinity, stanzas 5 and 6:

"Thou knowest how hard to hurry by,
Where on the lonely woodland road
Beneath the moonlight sky
The festal warblings flowed;

"Where maidens to the Queen of Heaven
Wove the gay dance round oak or palm,
Or breathed their vows at even
In hymns as soft as balm."

that is eaten or drunk is the produce of Jehovah's land. To him the grateful tenant makes that sort of acknowledgment which is at once most expressive and most obvious. But our typical Hebrew is swayed by reverence as well as gratitude. This sentiment also has a manifestation of the most practical kind. Prayer to him is intensely real; it is an ascertainment of the will of the Deity, and that with regard to ordinary affairs of life. "Inquiring of God" is asking counsel about a journey or about a business engagement, just as by a clan or tribe a decision is sought in the same fashion about a projected migration or a warlike expedition.

§ 506. The method and the conception are, no doubt, somewhat rude and materialistic. The priest gives counsel for Jehovah by means of teraphim and the ephod. But some symbol, some material intervention, is invariably associated with formal Old Testament worship. And when the tabernacle with the Ark and the cherubim is not accessible, these traditional images are, at least, a stay and support to the primitive faith of the trustful Israelite. He has, however, but little prophetic teaching, and to him and his contemporaries is denied the spiritualizing influence of the united worship of "the multitude that keep holyday." It is better that he should worship Jehovah by ephod and teraphim than that he should follow a common fashion of his tribesmen and adopt the rites of the Baalim, while acknowledging the supremacy of Jehovah. For now the old order has changed. The Canaanite is no longer the natural enemy of the Israelite. The category of Hebrew is held to cover the descendants of both races. Nor can it well be otherwise. They are indistinguishable in outward appearance. They speak the same language; adopt the same God or gods; meet on equal terms in the markets or the courts of justice.

§ 507. If we follow the employments of this citizen of old Palestine, we shall be struck with the contrast to the

listless monotony of the life of the present time in that country. The earlier part of his busy day is occupied with the oversight of his household and property. Very little goes on in his well-regulated establishment without his personal attention or supervision. In following him about his estate we notice with some surprise that he is on terms of easy familiarity, devoid of condescension, with his slaves, male and female. They are evidently regarded and trusted as members of his own family. Some of them are of the Hebrew race from the close neighbourhood. With one of the female slaves, the daughter of a friend of his who has seen better days, his eldest son has contracted an equal marriage. But the most of the slaves are descendants of Canaanites. Their lot, or at least the lot of their parents, was at first a hard one. They had themselves been the proprietors of all the land thereabout; and, having resisted strenuously its expropriation, their servitude was made proportionately rigorous. The wars of the invasion, and even the subsequent strifes and combats, are now, however, becoming fast a mere matter of tradition, and the only difference between the status of the two classes of servitors is rather one of hereditary sentiment than of practical discrimination. Even that, too, is disappearing, with the unifying influences of the time and country, and of the dominant religion. The present slave-holder, at any rate, makes little distinction between the two classes among his servants. The majority of them are now reckoned as home-born, since the more immediate ancestors of those of remote Canaanitish descent were naturalized Hebrews. To all he is inclined to extend the privilege of optional release at the end of six years' service. All are admitted alike to the religious privileges and rites of the household. He is thus, perhaps consciously, playing an important part in making Canaan more surely Jehovah's land, and in preparing the way for the freedom and tolerance which men have learned from the teaching of Israel (§ 546 ff.).

§ 508. Over each department of the work of his estate a competent slave is set. At early morning the master goes the rounds to see how all are progressing. We know how he talks to the reapers in harvest time. After conferring with the chief of the band, he passes along amongst the ranks and salutes the workers, using not the ordinary salutation, "Peace be to you," but that which reminds them all of their common supreme protector, "Jehovah be with you." Their reply comes heartily and promptly, "Jehovah bless thee" (Ruth ii. 4). Having his home in a small city, where there are as yet no guilds of tradesmen, except, perhaps, smiths and builders, most of the needs of his household, for the uses and comforts of life, have to be provided by the labour of his own family of children and slaves. Hence he himself must be a jack-of-all-trades, competent to superintend the making of all sorts of tools for the farm, and furniture and utensils for the house, the building of solid storehouses, or the construction of reservoirs and drains.

§ 509. Hardly less important is the work assigned to the women of the household — the preparing of food and meals, including the daily grinding of the corn and the drawing of the water, weaving, spinning, and the making of ordinary garments, and the care of the living apartments. Just as the house-master directs the work of the male servants, so the more domestic duties of the women are under the vigilant and, perhaps, more exacting control of the mistress. She herself has servants who, in a certain sense, are her own slaves, but all of whom, like the wife and children themselves, are ultimately the property of the head of the house. The part played by the mistress, who is in the present case the sole wife, is one of great responsibility as well as difficulty, especially in connection with the delicate relations and possible social complications of the Hebrew household. She has not as wide a range of authority or of action in matters of outside business as her famous sister

of the southern border-land (Prov. xxxi.); but her domestic influence is, on that account, perhaps all the steadier and stronger.

§ 510. The public activity of this Israelite of the time is no less noteworthy. Since the work on his estate begins with daylight, it is still early in the day when he leaves his fields and repairs to the city gate to take his seat among the "elders." In these times of unsettlement it is a heavy task that is laid upon the civic officials. Disputes about trespass, about agreements of sale or exchange, the boundaries of estates, the title to property, loans and pledges, the ownership of slaves, the disposal of legacies, the protection of widows and orphans, and the choice of the *goël*, keep coming up in turn for settlement before this primitive and versatile tribunal. The litigants from the city proper are augmented by a constant influx of disputants from the country round about. In addition to such matters of inquiry as arise out of the normal conditions of life in the district, many others are liable to occur through the prevalence of old tribal customs. A hearing of the court may, for example, be interrupted at any moment by the clamour of an avenger of blood, and the appeals of his victim as he enters the city gates (Josh. xx. 4; Deut. xix. 12). So the case in hand must be adjourned till this more urgent matter is temporarily settled. The "elder" of our sketch is also a "judge" (§ 487), a position as invidious as it is honourable. Among a people with such a rudimentary jurisprudence frequent appeals and references are inevitable. The practical difficulties of his position, great enough in themselves, are aggravated by the fact that the local priests are willing, if not for a bribe, at least for the credit of their office, to give an oracle that does not agree with his unbiassed judgment. He often, however, finds his account in postponing the final adjudication until his friend, the great judge Samuel, within whose jurisdiction he has the good fortune to live, comes

upon his city in his regular circuit. In the frequent conversations between the two patriots as to the state of public affairs in Israel generally, they always end by declaring in common that unless a "judge" of ampler powers and of wider competency is soon appointed all government will cease. They both live also to see the establishment of the kingdom.

CHAPTER V

THE MONARCHY

§ 511. The dividing line between the new Israel and the old (§ 467) was the much-wished-for and fondly idealized institution of the monarchy. The reader is fully aware that we cannot point to any single event or movement as being the real occasion of the revolution. In the history of the ancient Semitic world, while social changes great or small in single communities went on rapidly, political progress was very gradual (§ 557). The nature and the occasions of the external events that marked the establishment of the kingdom and its progress for the first three centuries have already been summarized and briefly discussed (§ 195 ff., 371 ff.). Its internal development within the same period, which we have now to consider, will not require a lengthy exposition. Now that the fundamental social and political institutions have been dealt with, it will appear that the motives of the succeeding history lie more upon the surface. They have in fact been to a large extent already presented. What we have now to do is to trace out two leading lines of development during the kingly era. These are the growth and regulation of the military power, and changes in the administration of civil affairs.

§ 512. The development of the military power in Israel was naturally dependent upon two motives, the necessity of defensive and the disposition to offensive action. After the settlement, Israel's permanent policy was plainly marked out both by its position among the

surrounding nations and by the counsels of its wisest leaders. It was simply to retain the territory which it had succeeded in colonizing and to secure each tribe in its possession. Aggression outside of these limits was only warranted when waged for self-preservation. Yet frequent wars with border nations were inevitable. Unsuccessful wars put Israel upon the defensive until the invaders were expelled. Successful wars were, as a rule, followed by offensive action to prevent retaliation on the part of a recuperated enemy. On the whole, Israel engaged comparatively little in aggressive warfare. Up to the end of the Judges a defensive attitude was the only one possible. In the later times the rule was broken chiefly by conflicts with Philistines and Edomites. Israel was not distinctively a warlike people. A settled policy of foreign conquest was seldom pursued except towards Edom, whose territory was coveted for reasons already familiar to us (§ 236, 254, 269). The era of David and that of Jeroboam II and Uzziah were quite exceptional. But this was due not so much to an unambitious and quiescent temper on the part of rulers or people as to the circumstances of the nation already spoken of, and the influence of the religious movements inaugurated by the Prophets. The ploughshare and the pruning-hook came more naturally to the hand of the Hebrews than the sword and the spear. And yet, after all, there were very few grown men among them in the formative periods of their history who had not some training in the use of arms. Domestic feuds, tribal quarrels, irruptions of marauders, were frequent enough in the intervals between the invasions of the Philistines or Syrians until the Assyrian came upon the land. Then, at last, peace was forced on all the petty combatants of the west, but their mutual antipathy became converted into a surly antagonism towards their common oppressor. In the insurrections that occasionally resulted thereafter the Hebrews did rather more than their share, and thus

their weapons were never allowed to rust from lack of use.

§ 513. The efficiency of a national militia depends upon its ability not only to match the enemy upon the field, but to protect non-combatants and the property of the citizens. In the tribal state of any people there is little fixed property to defend, and there is, in consequence, no military profession. Every man is a warrior upon occasion, just as he is a hunter or tent-maker. When an attack or a repulse is undertaken, the whole of the fighting force is called out at once, the women and children and movable property being left in the rear or in a place of concealment. A single decisive defeat may mean the dispersion of the tribe. The survival of Israel between Egypt and Canaan is a proof not simply of the individual courage of the tribesmen, but also of its advance beyond rudimentary tribalism (cf. § 441 f., 458). With the acquisition or control of property in land the conditions change essentially. Just as the formation of a "state," in the true sense, is thus made possible, so a system of national defence is rendered necessary. The militia still embraces all the men of fighting age and capacity, but both its training and its distribution are changed.

§ 514. In the desert every warrior was slinger, archer, and spearman. As citizens of Canaan the several rôles were separated for service in the field, even though most of the men of the spear might also be dexterous with the sling and the bow. Special schooling with these implements of war followed as a matter of course (cf. Jud. xx. 16). Swords, rarer yet not unknown in the nomadic stage (Gen. xlviii. 22), became a regular arm; and soon the full-armed warrior appeared at the head of his troop with helmet and shield. At length heavy-armed infantry could be counted on as a regular portion of the armies of Israel, though the bulk of the levies were always provided with merely the spear, the bow, or the sling.

§ 515. We have observed that up to the close of the Judges Israel was in no true sense a state. It was not united, not compact, not organized. Only with the slowly established kingdom came the consciousness of inward unity and of national power. The sense of brotherhood and of comradeship, which had held them together as invaders and colonists, was fast dying out, till it was reawakened by the more urgent conviction of impending common disaster at the hands of the Philistines. With such a reviving patriotic sentiment went hand in hand the evolution of a national defence. With the sense of unity, promoted by the abandonment of the tribal traditions, there gradually came an appreciation of the value of the kingdom to all who were called by the name of Israel. The invasions of the Philistines and their virtual occupation of the centre and heart of Israel, instead of quenching the newly enkindled hope, only served to heighten and deepen it and make of it a sacramental inspiration. Gilboa could not efface the memory of Jabesh-Gilead. When the prestige of Saul's early successes had been eclipsed by the gloom of his mysterious and melancholy inactivity, his heroic son, the magnanimous Jonathan, ruled the spirits of the people by his kingliness of soul no less than by his daring valour and his brilliant achievements on the field. Jonathan with his shield-bearer at Michmash typifies and personifies the spirit of Israel aroused from its slumber. Then there came before the people the more fascinating and commanding, though less pure and noble, personality of David. His genius for war and diplomacy found scope in commending his own Judaic kingdom, estranged though it had been from the sympathies of the most of Israel, to the deference and attachment of the central and northern tribes. Even the unscrupulous and worthless Absalom gained his temporary sway over a rightly discontented people by qualities which fitted well with popular notions of kingship.

Thus the personal qualities of the successive representatives of royality united with the sense of national need to establish faith in the monarchy and devotion to the monarchs. And these were essential conditions of a permanent military system. The safety of the state rests upon a standing defence. The stability of the kingdom implies the sacredness and the security of the person of the king. Hence the development of the military system of the Hebrews.

§ 516. We may distinguish three periods or stages in the growth of the armies of Israel. At first there was no question of a standing army. The methods of the camp were followed, though on a larger scale, in the early times of the settlement. After the conquest was fairly complete the troops which for years had encamped here and there throughout the country gradually disbanded. It was yet long before war was to become a science or even an art among the Hebrews. As they settled down to pastoral and agricultural life, there was less need to concentrate forces for general defence. The development of local interests still further discouraged the training of a militia. Sometimes, even in the sorest need, as in the days of Shamgar and Barak (§ 478 f.), it was difficult to unite the scattered defenders of the struggling communities. Sometimes suitable weapons were hard to get. How pressing was the need is shown by the virtual disarming of the people by the victorious Philistines just at the establishment of the kingdom (1 Sam. xiii. 19 ff.). At best the armies that were raised during the whole period of the Judges were hasty levies, composed of straggling troops, tumultuous and ill-disciplined, each man often fighting for his own hand. At best they were a collection of local companies under local leaders. Organized movements of large battalions were a thing unknown. It seemed, in fact, much easier to set in battle array tribe against tribe or section against section, than to muster any large body of men to repel a foreign

invader. All this was gradually changed, it is true, upon the establishment of the monarchy. Yet it was long before the discipline and tactics of a professional soldiery could be seen on a large scale in any part of Palestine. The highest military art of those days was first learned by the Aramæans of Damascus from their Assyrian conquerors two centuries after the time of Saul. The Damascenes were, in fact, the only great military power of the West-land till the days of the Seleucidæ. Israel had its own share of military renown, and far more than its share of patriots and heroes. But its achievements belong more to the records of personal valour and devotion. The heroic age, with its triumphs of individual prowess and its spirit of unconquerable independence, lingered long in the memory of Israel, and has filled out a stirring chapter in the world's annals of patriotism.

§ 517. When, at length, Saul was made "king" over Israel, the second stage of the military history of Israel was begun. His first care, after the relief of Jabesh-Gilead and the customary dispersion of the levy, was to select a permanent guard of three thousand men, and station them in two divisions in positions specially exposed to the assaults of the Philistines. Naturally he and the heir to the throne at first divided the command between them (1 Sam. xiii. 2 ff.). We also learn that Saul made it his aim to secure for service in the field any man who distinguished himself by valour or heroic spirit (1 Sam. xiv. 52). A numerical principle of organization was also followed (1 Sam. xvii. 18; xviii. 13; cf. viii. 12). A general and captains were appointed for active service, among whom the heroes of the time had, doubtless, their own following severally. A standing force was now recognized as a necessity, but the soldier was still every man capable of bearing arms, and the time of a military class or guild was yet to come.

§ 518. The third and final stage was, however, soon arrived at. David chose for himself a body-guard of six

hundred men. This band had very probably its beginnings in the company of refugees, outlaws, and broken men who gathered around him in the wilderness of Judah. We thus see that in its composition it struck through the tradition of local or tribal selection, while in its potential motive it illustrates the saving principle of devotion to the person of the king (§ 515). The possession of this body of household troops usually turned the scale thereafter in disputes about the royal succession. At the same time the general militia was not annulled. Its organization was rather maintained and extended (2 Sam. xviii. 1; 2 K. i. 9; xi. 4, 19). In the time of Jeroboam II the principle of tribal representation seems to have been entirely done away, and each city contributed its larger or smaller contingent (Amos v. 3; cf. § 484 f.).[1]

§ 519. A standing militia, necessary as it was to military greatness and prestige, was always hard to maintain in Israel. No better proof of this is needed than the fact that horses and chariots, which were indispensable to a complete Oriental army, were as a rule but meagrely represented. Solomon, averse though he was to foreign wars (§ 206), expected to assure the integrity of the kingdom of David by the establishment of a cavalry and chariot service. His inflated revenues sustained for a time the heavy expenses of the armament (cf. 1 K. x. 28 f.), but the collapse of this part of his establishment is attested by the loss of the dependent states (§ 209). The great schism limited forever the military possibilities of either kingdom. Indeed, the comparative poverty of the Hebrew territory of itself practically settled the question. Chariots were more in demand than mounted horsemen, and we may assume that at least after the time of David they were never entirely absent. According to the report of Shalmaneser II (§ 228) Ahab had two thousand

[1] Some of the above-mentioned along with other interesting features of military life in Israel are well exhibited by Nowack, HA. I, 359 ff.

chariots, but his successors had to submit to an enormous reduction (2 K. vii. 13; xiii. 7), and Samaria at its capture seems to have had but fifty (Vol. I, p. 425). Hezekiah of Judah was ridiculed by the legate of Sinacherib for his lack of war-horses and horsemen (2 K. xviii. 23). In brief it may be said that it was only in times of special warlike enterprise that any considerable force of cavalry could be put in the field.

§ 520. A powerful standing army was difficult to maintain for other reasons besides. The centre and mainstay was of course the royal body-guard (§ 517 f.). With them no doubt began the system of a regular commissariat and fixed wages. The levies of the militia appear to have provided their own supplies (cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 17 f.) or to have been provisioned by rich landholders (2 Sam. xvi. 1 f.; xvii. 21 f.; cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 5 ff.). Now these mercenary troops were, as in all Oriental kingdoms, largely foreigners, or taken from subject states of uncertain allegiance to Israel, as for example, the "Cretans and Philistines" (§ 192). The system of armed retainers of royalty was discouraged by the best Israelites on several grounds. In the first place, it tended to foster arbitrary power. Again, it was apt to be made the instrument of insurrection (cf. 1 K. xvi. 9). In the next place, it depreciated the patriotic spirit of the people. In the heroic times every Israelite was a volunteer soldier, ready with spear and bow or any handy weapon for the defence of Jehovah's land. National deliverance or predominance if procured through the valour of hirelings was a cheapening of loyalty of the rankest kind and the beginning of national degradation.[1] The idea of personal responsibility for the defence of Israel was retained till the latest times. It was not, moreover, favourable to a professional soldiery, that the

[1] How nobly loyal a soldier of the guard might be, even one of foreign descent, is shown in the course of the pathetic story of the betrayal and assassination of Uriah the Hettite (2 Sam. xi. 6 ff.). But such men, of course, speedily became true Israelites (§ 550).

well-to-do proprietors kept up the good old custom (Gen. xiv. 14 f.) of marching to the field at the head of their armed retainers. To the stout yeomanry of the plantations as well as the hardy shepherds and hunters, chariots and horses must always have been an outlandish kind of fighting material, besides being rather clumsy in their movements upon the rugged terrain of Palestine.[1] That the Prophets so frequently inveighed against horses and chariots was partly due to the consideration already mentioned. They had also the additional motive of dissuading the people from their fatuous schemes of alliance with Egypt, whence the supply of war-steeds was usually obtained (*e.g.* Isa. xxxi. 1), and from building up a strong secular power generally, which would turn the heart of the nation from trust in Jehovah.

§ 521. We pass on now to the consideration of the governmental and judicial changes brought about by the kingdom. We observe at the outset the very striking fact that the first three kings, Saul, David, Solomon, represent three distinct stages in the development of the monarchy. We notice, moreover, that the period which they occupy contains germinally all subsequent decisive national changes. The government of Saul was merely experimental and preliminary. His conception of the kingdom was that it was a kind of hereditary dictatorship (cf. § 51). His administration had none of the pomp and prestige of royalty. Nor was it guarded and stayed up by a cabinet of court officials responsible only to the king, which is the strength and support of every Semitic monarchy. This of itself weakened his dynasty and cleared the path for a popular pretender. His lack of political talent, his incon-

[1] So the Syrians of Damascus, who were always famed for their cavalry and charioteers (cf. again the report of Shalmaneser II, § 228) found that in spite of these they were defeated on "the hills" by the footmen of Israel (1 K. xx. 1, 21, 23, 25). Naturally they ascribed their defeat to "the gods of the hills," but in so doing they implied that they had had an uphill task during the battle.

sistencies, his alienation of the priesthood, his easily roused animosity, the "madness" of his jealousy, estranged him and his government from the sympathies of the people, and paralyzed the new institution in its earliest infancy. His reign marked the great transition in the history of Israel as a nation and in the development of Hebrew society (§ 467). It swayed helplessly backward and forward, and leaned equally upon the past and the future. Israel during its tragic progress was like a wanderer who has struck into a promising path, and who halts in utter bewilderment at a sudden parting of the ways; then night falls upon him, and he sinks down in confusion and despair. But the return of morning to Israel, after the gloom and terror of Gilboa, revealed at least some things clearly. The past could not be retraced; the kingdom was still the only hope and security. And a worthy king was at hand, whose advent brought to the nation something like clearness and order.

§ 522. Under Saul the new and the old had been hopelessly intertwined. David disengaged the new from the old, and made it the order of the day. He was a great king in many things, but in none more than in this, that although an opportunist, he was no innovator. He simply gave the kingdom a chance to survive. Though he organized it for the first time, he really established no institutions new to the Semitic world or unfamiliar to Israel among the nations. Through him the monarchy began to fulfil its functions. While Saul never deputed another to do anything which he thought he could execute for himself, the officers of David's court were appointed to merely obvious duties, and were really the most elementary functionaries of a well-established monarchy. Such were a "recorder," or rather a secretary of state; a "scribe," or court annalist; one "over the tribute," or rudimentary finance minister (cf. § 205). It was inevitable that these, as well as the other officials of the general government, should be his creatures, and that they should less

and less represent the people from whose ranks they were drawn. But this was inherent in the very nature of the kingdom, at least of the only type of kingdom of which the Hebrews were capable, most independent and democratic though they were of all the Semites (§ 63).

§ 523. Such a centralizing system is the strength of the king, but the bane of the people. David's ruling motive, however, was the upbuilding of Jehovah's people rather than his own aggrandizement. He strenuously sought to conciliate all the tribes of Israel without distinction. His public faults, at least, were not those of the typical Oriental despot. Even the census which he undertook (§ 205), and which was so thoroughly made, was, from the point of view of mere statesmanship, rather commendable than otherwise. It was rightly opposed by the politic Joab (2 Sam. xxiv. 3), who foresaw the discontent of the people as indicated in the popularity of the pretender Absalom. For the census was undertaken under military auspices, and was supposed to have in view both the conscription of every freeholder (cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11 f.) and a scheme of general taxation. It was opposed by the prophet of Jehovah apparently because of what it presaged. Being the convenient basis of taxation by system, it foreshadowed a wholesale exaction of the people's wealth, and a spoliation of Jehovah's poor; in short, the virtual enslavement of the nation (1 Sam. viii. 14 ff.). If, therefore, the administration of David was faulty, it was so mainly because, according to Samuel's unsparing characterization, the kingly rule in Israel must needs tend to selfish despotism. His conduct in the matter of Uriah the Hettite was an indication of the brutalizing tendency of suddenly acquired, unlimited power. What a light it throws upon the possibilities of evil in an Oriental court! To David it seemed, until his moral awakening, an assertion of his mere personal prerogative. But how clearly did the prophet, who stood for the independence as well as the

sanctity of the Israelitish home and household, reveal the far-reaching responsibilities of the kingly office!

§ 524. What was germinal and incipient in David's measures of government worked itself out under Solomon. The most meritorious feature of the general policy of Solomon, which, however, was mainly incidental, was his attitude towards outsiders (§ 552). But the only praiseworthy public act recorded of this king, who was so renowned for mental acuteness and wisdom of speech, was the building and endowing of the Temple. All the rest of his official deeds that we know of were those of a personally ambitious, self-aggrandizing tyrant. Especially short-sighted was the impoverishment of the other tribes for the sake of his own tribe of Judah. The perpetual abridgment of his own dynastic authority was among the least of the misfortunes brought upon Israel by these and other high-handed measures (§ 206). The prosperity induced by the stimulation of trade and manufacture was forced and artificial, and therefore short-lived. Perhaps the most stupendous practical folly of this *grand monarque*, who "never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one," was his attempt to make a commercial nation of Israel — a feat which no one has as yet succeeded in accomplishing for inland Palestine, and it is to be presumed never will.[1] Indeed, if the attempt had been feasible, it would have been the undoing of Israel, whose mission it was through its own poverty to make many rich. Possibly it never occurred to Solomon that, unless the country could pay by its own resources or earnings for the horses and chariots, ivory and apes, peacocks and

[1] The commercial navigation of the Red Sea from a subjugated seaport of Edom, so often attempted by Israel, was a quite different enterprise from the great achievements of the Phœnician cities. The Elanitic gulf was too far from the centre of Israel's activity. If the Red Sea port had been a colony of a trading nation, the case would have been different. And in fact the only successful business carried on from that locality was done by Phœnician vessels, and was always, when undertaken by Israel, of brief duration. (1 K. ix. 26 ff.; cf. § 67, 209, 215, 269.)

sandal-wood (1 K. x. 22, 28 f.), which he imported so lavishly, it would soon become poorer than it was when he received it from his wise old father. And, as a matter of fact, it was not a very wealthy or prosperous land which Solomon left to his like-minded son and successor.

§ 525. But the economic follies of Solomon were not the greatest of his crimes against his country. What was of more lasting consequence was the example he set of gaudy extravagance, of unbridled sensuality, of luxurious self-indulgence at the cost not merely of the people's money, but of their dearly bought tranquillity and peace. How different Israel had now become within the century of the new régime! What a gulf lay between Saul returning to his farm and oxen after the relief of his beleaguered countrymen, and Solomon on his throne of gold and ivory, with his troops of gilded courtiers and foreign courtesans, and the mass of his subjects on the eve of revolt! The great schism was, after all, not merely a political but a moral necessity, and with all its disastrous consequences really the lesser of two evils. Israel had been rent in twain by Solomon before the revolt was proclaimed in Shechem.

§ 526. Before the death of Solomon two broad conclusions about the monarchy must have been drawn by the responsible, thoughtful, middle-class people from whose ranks came the Prophets of Israel. It was clear, on the one hand, that the kingdom was necessary, and on the other hand, that it had been for its chief purpose a lamentable failure. It had prevented the complete disintegration and destruction of the Hebrew settlement. But it could not avail to bind the tribes into one homogeneous nation. There never had been a real union of sentiment. Nor, as it would appear, was there, for any considerable time at least, a uniform administration of the government over the whole people. The strength and almost entire success of Absalom's rebellion testifies to the smouldering spirit of discontent throughout

the greater part of Israel during the reign of David. That Solomon treated, through residentiary officers, the tribes north of Jerusalem as a sort of subject people is to be fully explained only when we assume that they, unlike the Judaic section, supported the administration very reluctantly. This, then, we may be assured of, that the union of the tribes was never fully realized in any form after the conquest of Canaan, not even under the kingdom of David, glorious as it was. A third fact, also, we must not forget. Though outward political union was but briefly and precariously realized, the Hebrew people were still one and continued so to be, and that in a sense in which unity cannot be affirmed of any other divided ancient people. They were all the servants and children of Jehovah (cf. § 378). Henceforward, even in their separation, the national development of both kingdoms must go forward upon the same ideal lines, and be judged by the same ideal standards. Though parted forever, they were still brothers and neighbours, with the same intellectual and spiritual inheritance and with common political traditions.

§ 527. In the foregoing sections I have tried to show that the two main tribal aggregations of Israel never really coalesced. It has also been shown how near they came to coalition, and why they failed to unite completely. We are now prepared to understand why the two kingdoms diverged so widely in their subsequent history, in spite of their close internal affinities and their frequent interaction. The more obvious and outward differences between them, so marked in their separate destinies, have been already sufficiently detailed in connection with the narrative sketch (§ 271 ff.; cf. § 372 ff.). It is now made plain that the internal causes are equally influential. It is clear that what is known as Northern Israel never really came under monarchical government under the earliest kings, at least not in the same degree, and scarcely in the same sense, as did the

more favoured kingdom of David. The advantage thus conferred upon the smaller division was never lost. The kingdom of the "Ten Tribes" soon came to greater strength and outward prosperity; but it did not attain to a fixed constitution until the germs of dissolution had already been planted in the body politic. What gave Judah its stability, its cohesiveness, its endurance, its name and influence in history, was almost as much its political advantage as its religious superiority.

§ 528. The social and governmental development of the two kingdoms proceeded pretty much on parallel lines, as we would expect from their similar antecedents and common traditions and origin. But, as we have seen, their positions at the starting-point were immensely different. The central and especially the northern people were politically far in the rear. Their revolt and election of a new king brings this fact out into clear relief. These were desperate measures, resorted to only under the direst necessity. The feeling was at bottom not so much one of local jealousy. Nor was it due to attachment to the house of Saul, which was, at the death of Solomon, little more than a pathetic tradition. Neither was the revolt wholly prompted by the desire on their part to have a king of their own section. There were in reality several different sections of Israel concerned in the movement, and the choice of an Ephraimite shows that the sentiment of brotherhood was stronger than local interest or passion. Moreover, they were quite contented with the principle of hereditary succession. This was the only kind of kingship known, or even possible, to them[1] (§ 51), and that they would

[1] It must not be inferred from the frequent changes of dynasty in the northern, as contrasted with the southern, kingdom (§ 278), that the hereditary principle was held less religiously in the former. The revolutions there only illustrate further the unsettlement and disintegration of the tribes of Israel north of Benjamin, the pendant of Judah. The suc-

have been content with a congenial representative of the family of David is shown by their adhesion to the banner of Absalom. Their most pressing grievance was that they had no chance of impartial consideration from the house of David.

§ 529. But this was not all. The desperation of the seceders was due not simply to the fact that they had been neglected and misgoverned, but that they had been practically without any government that transcended the tribal organization of their fathers. We know that among the Western Semites kingly rule did not extend far beyond the influence of the court officials and the dependent nobles, unless where conquest brought about a forcible union (cf. § 29 ff.). The administrative districts erected by Solomon might have served to unify the tribes, if they had not been devised for purposes of taxation, military conscription, and statute labour. That is to say, while the energies and resources of the people of the north were being employed to build up Judah and Jerusalem, and to strengthen and develop a central aristocracy in the south, their own local interests and institutions were neglected. The king was represented not so much by civil governors and magistrates as by tax-gatherers and garrisons. In short, the most of Israel remained domestically and internally pretty much as it was in the time of the Judges, while its experience of the monarchy had served mainly to harass and distract it beyond endurance. This was the crisis of the great schism. The unsettlement, the strife, the misery, of the succeeding forty years were but the working out of the effort to consolidate on the basis of the monarchy (cf. § 375). They were the throes of the birth-time of a new order. Politically and socially, Northern Israel was no further advanced on the accession of Omri (§ 212) than

cession, from the very beginning, devolved, of course, upon the eldest son, unless set aside by the will of the kingly house-father (§ 428); and this canon also was as valid in the one kingdom as in the other.

Judah was at the enthronement of David, his nearest parallel and his great model. This, also, must be numbered among the achievements of David, that he placed Judah politically a century ahead of the rest of Israel.

§ 530. The great problem of domestic government, already partly solved in Judah, was not essentially different from that which pressed upon the tribesmen in the time of the Judges. New divisions, based upon many different sorts of conditions, chiefly geographical and physical, had arisen. These had now taken the place of the boundaries which had been allotted to the colonists of the several tribes. These districts, larger or smaller, were arranged for purposes of military conscription, of tax-collecting, and above all of judicial trials and religious convocations. Their administration naturally challenged the attention of the kings, just as they had taxed the energies of the "Judges." We cannot say in detail what these divisions were. The greater and the lesser alike must have fluctuated continually in the northern kingdom, at least till after the era of Omri. We have already tried to get a glimpse at the larger movements which effaced the old, largely theoretical, tribal partition (§ 272, 275). But it is particularly interesting to note at this point that at the death of Saul it was not the "tribes" that rallied to the support of his son Ish-baal against David, but Abner "made him king over Gilead and over the Asherites[1] and over Jezreel and over Ephraim and over Benjamin" (2 Sam. ii. 9). From this statement we learn that only the tribes nearest Judah were distinguished by name, while for the outlying members territorial designations were employed in comprehensive groupings.[2] This fact alone may suggest

[1] So read for "Ashurites." The termination instead of the mere tribal name shows that what the writer had in view was the people clustering around "Asher."

[2] The people of Israel north of Jezreel were "Asherites." "Gilead" comprehended Israel east of the Jordan. "Jezreel" stands for Issachar and Western Manasseh. Dan and Simeon had long lost any tribal signifi-

the grave difficulties of government and the practical issues to be faced. What David and Solomon did and failed to do in the way of general organization we have lately observed (§ 522 ff.). That much progress was made during the forty years of semi-anarchy it is hard to believe. What was done was to weld more firmly together those communities which here and there were accustomed to act together in times of trial. With the attainment of a stable central government under Omri, it may be assumed that the administrative divisions, at least those contained within Ephraim, Manasseh, and Issachar, were established by royal edict.

§ 531. Now we have only to add one class of officials to those who had already been recognized in the more formative preceding period (§ 486 ff.). In addition to the city elders and local judges we meet now with the "princes" of the larger districts. Distinct allusions to them are rare, but we find them plainly referred to in the reign of Omri's successor as the "princes of the provinces" (1 K. xx. 14 ff.). It appears from the references that each of these lieutenants of the king made his own muster of troops for the defence of the kingdom, and that these were preferable as a forlorn hope to the body-guard of the king (cf. § 520). Their other main functions are not difficult to determine. They "judged" cases of appeal from the local elders and judges, and passed on the most important to the king himself. They looked after the raising of the revenue, through subordinate district agents. They took care of the lands of the priests and the sacred shrines. They regulated the religious convocations of the centres of worship. They were, we may presume, in many cases favourites of the king, holding life appointments for service to him or to the state. At first they were often the representatives, by descent or election, of the old chiefs

cance they once possessed. When the names of single tribes are used hereafter in the Old Testament, except in genealogical references, the usage is political or territorial, not gentile in the strict sense.

of tribes or clans. About them, as about the king himself in his capital, clustered and throve a caste of nobles, often alluded to as "chiefs" and "heads" of the people, who, by virtue of their landed possessions and their growing bands of retainers, exercised a sort of feudal authority, judicial as well as military and industrial.

§ 532. We are at length prepared in some measure to understand the social as well as the political condition of Israel in the times most fully known to us. From the days of Ahab onwards the inner life of the people is presented to us with realistic power and detail, partly through the practical homely discourses of the Prophets, and partly because of the interest given to the internal history of both kingdoms by the prophetic way of looking at society and politics (§ 14, 214, 295 ff.). The story, as it unfolds itself, is henceforth less of a compilation or series of reminiscences, and more of a contemporary portraiture. Through it we obtain a nearer acquaintance with the times and the lives and manners of the people.

§ 533. Our previous inquiries, imperfect as they have been, have furnished us with at least an outline of the domestic, social, and political system of Israel. We have learned, moreover, to see not merely that certain qualities and institutions were peculiar to the Semites, and more especially to the Hebrews, but also that in all these three regions of the early history there was a notable progress or development. We are now struck by certain salient features of both the narrative and prophetical picture of the condition of Israel in the ninth and eighth centuries before our era. We observe that while on the religious side there was a prevailing degeneration with occasional attempts at reform, there was in public life, and in that vitally important region where social and private conduct and motive intersect and interact, a steadily increasing moral laxity and degradation. If we ask, who are aimed at in the bitter denunciations and the stern reprobation that point the moral of the tale, we naturally assume that the whole

of the people are transgressors of the divine law and the consequent victims of the divine justice. But a brief consideration shows that this is an error. Just as at an early stage of this fateful era there were seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal, so there was never lacking a remnant who kept their faith with Jehovah and their brethren. Who, then, are the incriminated objects of the divine displeasure? Who were those that were undermining the state and imperilling the very existence of Israel? It was the leaders of society, the powerful, the wealthy, the noble. The afflicted and the needy are never arraigned like the judges and the rulers of the people. How these men of influence gained their position and how they used their power are questions vital to the understanding of the most critical periods of Old Testament history.

§ 534. The inner changes in the spirit and life of Israel were due in large measure to corresponding changes in the relations of the governed and governing classes. Yet after the time of David there was no change in the political constitution or in the popular conceptions of the rights of rulers of any grade or function. In practice as in theory the king was always absolute. We have manifold representations in the Old Testament of kingship both actual and ideal, and no higher conceptions of a good king have ever been given to the world than those which are presented in the proverbial wisdom of the Hebrews. But no constitutional obligations were laid upon any one of the rulers, nor any restriction put upon his arbitrary authority.[1] Whether they could most fairly be symbolized by the olive, the fig, the vine, or the bramble of Jotham's famous parable (Jud. ix. 6 ff.), their good or their bad conduct alike was the expression of their own sweet will. Kings, strictly speaking, did not need advisers. Young princes like Absalom or Rehoboam might seek counsel. Older monarchs were apparently independent of it; none were bound to

[1] See Note 1 in appendix.

defer to it. These considerations bring out in clearest light the much misunderstood warnings of the first king-maker. Samuel told his people that if they would have a king they would make the choice at their peril, and his gloomy prognostications of "the manner of the king that should reign over them" (1 Sam. viii. 9 ff.) were justified on the simple ground that unchecked power tends to make men despots and unlimited opportunity to make them unscrupulous. Perhaps the wonderful thing, after all, is not that the evil kings of Israel and Judah should have been so numerous, but that there should have been any kings at all of a high and noble type.

§ 535. There was, of course, one supreme sanction whose tremendous obligation should not fail to solemnize and humble any one of Israel's kings, — the duty of deference to Jehovah as his vicegerents and servants. And in truth the sphere of religion formed an exception to the rule that the king did not brook control or even seek for counsel. The king resorts to the priests and prophets for divine oracles, and even performs sacrifices himself. For Jehovah is above the king, and the prophet or priest who communicates the oracles is by the nature of the case superior in his own proper sphere. But this exceptional relation served in its frequent abuse only to heighten the arrogance of the monarch and to increase his chances of augmenting his prerogative.[1] Through it he was tempted to make tributary to him the whole priestly class and the guilds of the prophets, whose support would not only add to his prestige, but further his schemes of personal and political aggrandizement.

§ 536. We have thus incidentally come upon a class of officials formally independent of the king, and yet morally responsible, like him, for the government or misgovernment

[1] The earlier kings who undertook upon occasion to offer sacrifices themselves, were in the very nature of the case not absolutely dependent on the priesthood for their knowledge of the will of Jehovah. After the priestly class became more distinct and powerful they are found in both of

of the country. If we seek for other examples, let us recall what has been said (§ 486 ff.) of the orders of men in Israel who bore a share in the administration of its internal affairs — the city elders, the local judges, the princes of the provinces. It was from these classes that the "rulers of the people" were mainly drawn. A series of vital questions at once suggest themselves. How far were these rulers independent of the king? What opportunities did they have for working upon the masses of the people? What effect had their conduct and practice upon the relations of society and upon its well-being, as well as upon their own status and influence? Upon these and similar matters we have at least inferential evidence. And we shall see that the priests and prophets who held a position traditionally more inviolable and august than even that of the king, were more than equalled in their influence upon the current history of Israel by these heads of society, whose position was maintained through the royal sufferance backed up by prescriptive and conventional toleration.

§ 537. As to the relations between the "rulers" and the king, it must be remembered in the first place that there was always an aristocracy in Israel, and that it was the leading men who are almost exclusively to be taken into account among the factors of the political and social life of the people. At first these were the heads of the clans or tribes, then the elders of the city, and besides, when great estates had been founded, the more powerful landholders. It is such as these who, with the chiefs of the hundreds and the thousands that were enrolled for the national defence, are the "elders of Israel," who took part, for example, in the elevation of David to be the sole reigning monarch (2 Sam. iii. 17), who after a solemn covenant

the kingdoms of Israel to be, as a rule, quite subservient to royal influence. On the other hand, the Prophets, who were naturally more independent than the priests, though liable also to subservience, retained their honor and self-respect in greater measure, and became, upon the whole, increasingly a saving factor in the state, as the priesthood went on degenerating.

with him anointed him king in Hebron (2 Sam. v. 3). Such also at a later date were the people of "Israel" who installed Rehoboam (1 K. xii. 1), and the "congregation," necessarily a representative assembly, who elected and crowned Jeroboam I (1 K. xii. 20). Naturally also it was they who were active in the revolutions by which alone it was possible to replace an intolerable occupant of the throne by one more to the liking of the dominant party. They were accordingly the main moral stay and support of the king under a stable and popular dynasty.

§ 538. We have seen that the king's rule was absolute. But since these local authorities stood primarily for the people at large, encroachment upon their rights would not be lightly attempted by any monarch. It was also his policy to retain their countenance and good-will. Their liberty of action among the common people was, however, specially secured by the king's preoccupation with his own affairs. In Oriental monarchies it is rare that the king's interest extends much beyond the limits of the capital, his hunting-grounds and garden, his summer and winter residences. The typical rulers of Assyria and Babylon were exceptions (cf. § 117, 180). Among kings of Israel, David, Solomon, and Uzziah were conspicuous for their wider views. Apart from their function as the supreme court of appeal, their activity, even in the cases of the most energetic, rarely brought them into contact with the sphere of the local magnates. The average monarch, in time of peace, would be satisfied with hearing daily the reports of his secretary and treasurer, especially the latter, and then betaking himself to the amusements which he regarded as the end of life, or at least of the life of a prince. Finally, a cordon of courtiers, respectable in numbers at least, effectually cut him off from habitual association with the mass of the people. There was thus apt to be little royal interference with the personal designs of local rulers. Even the acts of the favourite official, the district tax-collector, were little regarded, unless he failed, by extor-

tion or otherwise, to raise the amount of revenue for which he and his men were responsible. On the other hand, an intriguing, selfish king found acceptable tools and accomplices in like-minded leaders of the people (Hos. vii. 3).

CHAPTER VI

SOCIETY, MORALS, AND RELIGION

§ 539. With these general facts in view, let us now follow in imagination the social changes of the Hebrew people during the centuries of their life in Palestine. From the very outset there were found the three social degrees which appear in every rudimentary state, even in communities of nomads. These may be indicated in general terms as nobles, common men, and slaves. For purposes of rough comparison we may think of the three old Saxon grades of eorls, ceorls, and serfs, or more vaguely still of the feudal distinctions into gentry, freemen, and villeins. Most fundamental was the division in ancient Semitic society between master and slave. To this we must call particular attention on account of its importance in the evolution of the Hebrew people. The position of slaves in a fully constituted household has already been described (§ 405). The vicissitudes of national life which induce and perpetuate slavery bring us to the very root and fibre of the social system of Israel. In general, the distinction between master and man is that the former owns property, while the latter tends it for him in exchange for protection and sustenance. Thus as the nature of property changes, the character of servitude changes with it. In the purely nomadic life even the most powerful *sheich* could employ but few slaves. Accordingly Semitic nomads addicted themselves more to slave-trading than to slave-holding. Servitude upon a small scale, and of the simple, genial, patriarchal type, was a regular feature

of tribal life. But in the ordinary household of the camp neither room nor occupation could be found for many domestic servants. Among an agricultural population servile labour was nearly everywhere a convenience, and upon a large proportion of estates a necessity.

§ 540. Other causes co-operated strongly with the demand for labour to promote and extend slavery. One of them was the necessity of providing for captives taken in war. Among the Semites of the historical ages the slaying of prisoners, which had been the custom in days of primitive savagery, was done away except in the cases, unfortunately quite frequent, of hereditary feuds and religious crusades, or of prolonged resistance or rebellion. The alternative was to put the captives to useful work. In the pastoral stage of society the limited choice among kinds of labour united with other important causes to hasten the manumission of the bondmen and their assimilation to the tribesmen. On the other hand, the conditions of settled life furnished ready employment for prisoners. The necessity of utilizing these human chattels even tended to promote agricultural and industrial enterprise. That this predisposing cause operated on a large scale during the recuperative periods of Israel's early settlement goes without saying.[1] An occasion of the extension of bond-service was found in the practical working of the system of domestic vassalage. In general, tributaries were regularly reckoned as "slaves" of their suzerains (*e.g.* Gen. ix. 26 f.; 2 K. xvi. 7; xvii. 3; xxiv. 1); and not infrequently they at length became personal retainers and servitors. A special and very important form of this relation is shown

[1] Thus agriculture must have been vastly promoted in the Lowland from the time of David onward by the labour of Philistine bondmen taken during the frequent wars on the western border of Judah. To a less extent the same would be true of the Israelitish settlements east of the Jordan. It was thus, no doubt, that David (1 Chr. xxvii. 25 ff.) and Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 9 f.) were so well enabled to carry on their extensive plantations, both of them having annexed by force large portions of the most productive portions of Philistia.

in the process of absorption and assimilation by which Palestine became wholly Hebraic. Great numbers of the Canaanites, including entire settlements (Jud. i. 30 ff.), were made tributary to the Hebrew invaders, instead of being put to death. Of course the tribute could not be long continued, and so we are told in general terms that "when Israel was become strong they put the Canaanites to task-work" (Jud. i. 28). The final step was taken when members of this servile population, who had long been indistinguishable from their fellow-labourers of Hebrew descent, after submitting to the rite of circumcision and the cult of Jehovah, here and there and everywhere became adopted into Israelitish families. They thus lost their racial identity as completely as the Kenites and Kenizzites had done among the clansmen of Judah (§ 186).

§ 541. Finally, servitude was greatly extended by the self-subjection of impoverished or unfortunate freemen. Sons and daughters of struggling families on small properties were frequently sent into service during the early times of the settlement, in order to keep the patrimony intact. So common was the custom that the appropriate legislation occupies more space in the "Book of the Covenant" than any other rubric (Ex. xxi. 1–11). Hebrew society, even in more settled days, was, by virtue of its very constitution, in a constant state of flux. Slaves were, indeed, always numerous. Doubtless their number decreased after the earlier days of the monarchy, with the more general settlement of the country and more widely diffused prosperity. As great estates increased in number, there was, of course, more demand for manual toil. But this was satisfied rather by the engagement of hired labourers than by the importation of slaves. Hirelings, indeed, came in course of time to be a considerable element of the population.[1] Their absence from the earliest

[1] On the subject of hired servants in Israel, see Bennett, "Economic Conditions of the Hebrew Monarchy," in *The Thinker*, vol. iii (1893), p. 302 f.

code seems to prove that servile labour was relatively more common at the time of the occupation of Canaan, and, indeed, that slaves performed all the needful work. That hired service did not displace slave labour at any time, was in large measure due to the fact that widespread calamity was frequent in the history of Israel. Great misfortunes, such as prolonged unsuccessful wars like those against Damascus, dearth, famine or pestilence, must in various ways have shaken the organic framework of society, chiefly through the multiplication of hopeless debtors and the pauperizing of large masses of the community. An immediate result of famine especially was to "swell the list of those unhappy poor who were reduced to barter liberty for bread"[1] (2 K. iv. 1; Isa. l. 1; Neh. v. 5, 8). It is noteworthy that Amos, whose reminiscences of such seasons of suffering (iv. 6 ff.) have given so pathetic an undercurrent to his prophecy, is also full of sympathy for the helpless poor (ii. 6 f.; v. 11 f.; viii. 6), particularly because of their enslavement by the leading men, even for the trivial debt of a silver piece or a pair of shoes.

§ 542. The servile condition was within its limits very elastic. It reached from the extreme of rigour and cruel suffering to circumstances of ease and comfort, and even of affluence (2 Sam. ix. 9 ff.). It admitted of positions of responsibility as trusted agents (Gen. xxiv.), and as counsellors (1 Sam. ix. 5 ff.; xxv. 14 ff.), just as in Oriental courts a slave has often been the chief adviser of the king. In view of the initial hardships of most modes of slave-making, as above described, it is gratifying to know that in Israel, at least, the tendency was on the whole towards permanent amelioration. To this end economic prudence would conspire, in the minds of the masters, with the dictates of humanity and the sanctions of the

[1] I appropriate the words of Hallam (*Middle Ages*, American edition, 1880, vol. i, p. 317), employed to describe a similar state of things in Western Europe during the famines of the eleventh century A.D.

religion of Jehovah. Hence provisions for the protection of slaves occupy a large place in the earliest legislation (Ex. xxi. 20 f.; 26 f.; 32). These ordinances are to be judged of in the light of the general fact that according to primitive custom the master had the power of life and death over the slave.[1]

§ 543. Extraordinary and admirable is the enactment made to suit the settled conditions of later times, that a fugitive slave was not to be delivered to his master, but should have his choice of residence unmolested according to his liking (Deut. xxiii. 15 f.). Thus Israel, by the annulling of its old "fugitive slave law," attained almost at a bound a moral and legal position which was not reached by England till the year 1772 of our era, nor by the United States of America till nearly a century later.[2] The sab-

[1] Slavery was in fact, at least in very many instances, an amelioration of the infliction of death. That is to say, slaves were originally, perhaps in the majority of cases, captives of war, to whom life was granted on condition of servitude. From this point of view slavery may justly be regarded like many another Old Testament and Semitic custom, which shocks our modern sensibilities, as a necessary and wholesome advance in the progress of our race (cf. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, New York, 1879, vol. i, p. 102). At the same time we must beware of attributing the institution to a universal sentiment of humanity, since the inclination to set other people to do our work is at least as "innate" or primary as the feeling of compassion. It is interesting to note how Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, xix. 15) and the code of Justinian (*Just.* i. 3, 3) explain the word *servus*. In the language of the latter the term arose "quod imperatores servos vendere, ac per hoc *servare*, nec occidere solent." The etymology is more than doubtful, but its currency is evidence of the prevalence of the notion it conveys. The like word δοῦλος is possibly to be connected with a root meaning to fasten or bind. The Hebrew and general Semitic *'abd* is of still less certain derivation.

[2] Oddly enough, this statute seems to be commonly understood as providing simply that "fugitive slaves from foreign countries are not to be given up" (Wm. Smith's *Old Test. History*, New York, 1873, p. 277; Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel*, Engl. tr., p. 217). That there was abundant occasion for action generally is clear from the observation of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 10). That the law did not exist from the beginning of the settlement, except as implied in the general Mosaic teaching, is very probable, since in the long turbulent stage of transition to fixed agricultural manners, it would have tended only to increase disorder. That it was not observed

batical and the jubilee year had their chief significance in the emancipation of Israelitish slaves.[1] To be sure, the distinction was sharply drawn here, as in other enactments, between slaves of Hebrew origin and those of foreign birth. But this was inevitable in a state whose very existence depended on its social and racial exclusiveness. And it was a Hebrew writer of universalistic spirit, who makes his hero, non-Israelite though he is, speak so humanly of the rights of the slave: "If I were to disdain the right of my bondmen or of my bondmaid, when their cause comes before me, then what should I do when God rises up? And when he calls to account, what should I answer him? Did not he who made me in the womb make him? Yea, one framed us both in the womb"[2] (Job xxxi. 13 ff.).

§ 544. It may be safely maintained that the Hebrew slavery was on the whole a great blessing to the land and the people. Like other Semitic institutions it was taken up by the religion of Jehovah, mitigated, regulated, and made to minister to the well-being of masters and slaves, and of the state at large. Apart from its industrial advantages, the principal benefits which under this saving régime were conferred by it upon society may, I apprehend, be summed up under three heads. In the first place, it was an indispensable means of assimilating the heterogeneous peoples of the country, and of thus building up the commonwealth of Israel. Only in this way, as we have seen (§ 540, cf. 507), could the vast numbers of surviving Canaanites be gradually, insensibly, and completely

at the accession of Solomon we may perhaps indirectly infer from the incident recorded in 1 K. ii. 39 f.

[1] We know that this was disregarded, at least as a rule, in the later days of the Judaic monarchy. Yet Jeremiah, who inveighs against Zedekiah and his princes for having sent back into bondage their Hebrew slaves whom they had released under the influence of a temporary panic, insists upon it that the rule was of very early origin (Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff.).

[2] The ameliorations of the lot of the Hebrew slaves are well summarized by Wallon, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*, 2 ed. (1879), vol. i, p. 11 ff.

absorbed in the controlling element of the population. The process is not difficult to conceive. We remember that the type of servitude was fixed forever by the inalienable traditions of the old patriarchal system. It was a slavery of the house, not of the soil. Home privileges and associations were the boon of the slave, "bought with money," as well as of the "house-born." Not simply concubinage with the house-master, but marriage with him or his son, was a possibility to the female bond-servants. Necessary [1] participation by the bond and free in the same religious rites brought to the same general mental and spiritual level classes of people already pretty well equalized by similarity of occupation and of physical habit. The very divergence and disparity of servile conditions promoted the upward social movement. The interval from the lowest to the highest lot of Hebrew slaves marked an ascent unspeakably greater than the single bound by which the emancipated servant passed into the ranks of freemen. The system was so elastic and the transformations of condition so numerous and rapid that while we recognize the servile class as a weighty social element, we observe that politically a "slave question" was unknown in the history of Israel.

§ 545. A further benefit, entailed by the Hebrew institution, was the protection it afforded to the distressed and oppressed at home and abroad. That an Israelite should be compelled by adverse circumstances to sell himself and his children into slavery was no doubt often a cruel fate. But in the average case such a fortune was better than either starvation or vagrancy, even without the advantages secured by legislative enactments. For the fugitives from over the borders of Israel, the hunted survivors of the blood-feud, the night attack, and the woes of extermination, the Hebrew system furnished a genial and hospitable asylum. And a single generation might transform

[1] If for no other reason, because otherwise unavoidable close personal contact with the slaves would have rendered the house-people unclean.

the cringing suppliant into a respected confidant and a father of freemen.

§ 546. But the greatest blessing which the Jewish system of servitude brought with it was the development in Israel of the philanthropic temper, the spirit of compassion, the sense of a wide human brotherhood. As we have seen, the Hebrew legislation was unique among all pre-Christian codes for its protection of the enslaved and the oppressed. So the literature abounds above all other ancient literatures in expressions of sympathy for bondmen and captives and the victims of cruelty. We are in the habit of accounting for such phenomena by saying that they were the outcome of the revealed religion, the religion of Jehovah. And this is true: "Jehovah looseth the prisoners" (Ps. cxlvi. 7). If we go further, we explain them as being due to the constant teaching of the Prophets. This also is true. And it is to be admitted that most of the touching references to the victims of oppression are not found in the literature of the times now under review, but in the comparatively late prophetic writings of the period of the Exile. Yet the chivalric and philanthropic spirit breathes through the discourses of Amos as strongly and purely as in those of the Second Isaiah. And we must discard the idea that the Prophets stood alone in Israel, and were the only effective force in the community in defence of righteousness and humanity. In the kingdom of Judah, at any rate, they spoke for a saving remnant which, though small (Isa. i. 9), was yet strong enough to survive the shock of national doom. No writer or thinker has ever quickened the heart of humanity by the propagation of sentiments cherished by himself alone. The "Prophet" is one who not only speaks for God, but for his fellows. The true Israel spoke in defence of the suffering and the down-trodden just as truly in the Law as it did in the Prophets.

§ 547. Why is it that alone among the Semitic peoples, ancient or modern, Israel has left no recorded traces of a

traffic in the bodies of men, except in its prohibition (Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7)? And yet this was the only branch of commerce which it could profitably undertake. It was a refuge for fugitives from all the surrounding tribes. Its position gave it command of countless highways for pilgrims, travellers, merchants, emigrants, and exiles. The rich could be taken for their ransom, the poor because they had no helper. Close upon their border, too, was the city of Tyre, the greatest resort of slave-traders known to the ancient East (§ 45). Why, again, is it that while we read of a great and successful uprising in Tyre of the slaves against their masters,[1] in Jerusalem such a thing is unheard of and unthinkable? The reason is not far to seek. Israel in this, as in all else, reaped what it had sown. It practised what it had learned. It was taught, divinely taught, the law of human kindness by its very contact with the needy and the oppressed. It learned, we may add, by its own experience of trial and bondage. If it was solitary among the nations in its moral and religious training, it was equally singular in its antecedent and subsequent fortune. Its cradle was the bondage of Egypt, and the recollections of its infancy were never allowed to die. "Remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt" (Deut. v. 15; xvi. 12; xxiv. 18, 22), was a note that thrilled deep in the heart of Israel and lingered long. Its repeated strain mingled, too, with the trumpet warnings of a more bitter fate. Israel's childhood had been bruised by servitude in Egypt; its youth was being buffeted by the intermittent assaults of a multitude of smaller foes; its manhood was to be crushed by captivity in Babylon. Thus Israel stood in Canaan: not utterly brutalized by conquest; not wholly hardened by greed and rapine; its better self awakened by the remembrance of its own sorrows as a people, and it may be of its own sins as well. Nowhere else have been illustrated so memorably those lovely lines which the most

[1] Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, I, 57.

sympathetic of Roman poets puts into the mouth of an exiled Canaanite.[1]

> Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
> Jactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra;
> Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.

§ 548. We may go so far as to maintain that the very existence of Israel was made possible by its exceptional tolerance and protection of the slave and the stranger. It has just been stated (§ 544) that the genial social system of the Hebrews in Canaan was a chief means of conciliating and assimilating members of outlying communities. We have now to look for a moment at a class of people living in the midst of Israel who were not of Israel, not even as much so as the slaves of the household. It was the policy and sentiment of the Hebrews towards these "strangers" which perhaps more than anything else contributed to the growth of the nation. The *gēr* (גֵּר) was one of a class peculiarly Semitic.[2] He was properly a man belonging to no tribe, or rather one cut off from his tribe by accident or cruel fate. As a "sojourner," whether immigrant or fugitive, within the bounds of a hitherto alien community, he could become its "guest," receive its protection, and engage in the ordinary avocations of life, but without the political rights enjoyed by all the freemen of the tribe. He thus ceased to be an outlaw, "a wanderer and a fugitive," the fate most dreaded in tribal society.

§ 549. We may distinguish four stages or degrees. The most remote was naturally the "foreigner" (בֶּן נֵכָר), one with whom, whether he lived outside of the holy land, or happened to be within its limits, no intercourse was held. Such a one at best could claim no rights, not even of shelter or protection, until he came within the second degree. Then he became a *gēr*, strictly speaking; that is

[1] Vergil, *Æneid*, I, 628 ff.

[2] The best accounts of the *gērim* known to the writer are to be found in W. R. Smith, RS. p. 75 ff., and Nowack, HA. I, 336 ff.

to say, he was made a "guest" of some Israelite. This was usually done by partaking of the hospitality which was offered to all, according to the immemorial code of Semitic manners, as soon as the refugee came under the canopy of the tent. Eating in common, or the sacred oath, made the implicit covenant more sacred and inviolable. But even these solemnities, frequently and gladly as they were enjoyed by the stranger, were not indispensable. The tent, or the family within the tent, was the symbol and surrogate of the whole community, and so mere contact with the tent-rope assured the suppliant of the temporary protection not only of his immediate patron, but of the whole clan as well, whose honour was involved in upholding the obligation. This privilege, however, was understood to be valid for only a limited specified period, such as might be sufficient for rest and preparation for the continuance of the journey. Indefinite prolongation might be and was regularly granted in ancient Israel upon the supplication of the wanderer. Then he became "a guest and a sojourner" (גֵּר וְתוֹשָׁב Gen. xxiii. 4; Lev. xxv. 35, 47; Ps. xxxix. 12; 1 Chr. xxix. 15; cf. Ps. cxix. 19). He conformed to the social usages of the protecting community and made an acknowledgment of its deity or deities, contributing to the support of the institutions of the land, but not initiated into its sacred rites and mysteries. It would seem that such "sojourners" sometimes became men of property, to whom native-born freemen were beholden for money and to whom they might eventually become bondmen (Lev. xxv. 47). This, however, can scarcely have been a feature of early Israelitish times. By coming fully under all the prescriptions of Hebrew life, religious and social, the fourth stage was reached, when the client became an accredited citizen, and a full member of the community, on a level with the native-born freemen (אזרח). He thus ceased to be in any sense a client of his former patrons, and was numbered with them among the clients of their God.

§ 550. By the very nature of the case the last stage, that of complete absorption into the ranks of the tutelary community, was speedily reached by the great majority of strangers who ventured to enter upon the third. This was Israel's pre-eminent opportunity. From the beginning of its separate career as a prospective nation it had a substantial clientage. The "mixed multitude" (§ 453 f.) of its desert wanderings could only have been tolerated as a permanent following in view of its rapid assimilation. Some of the most conspicuous accessions soon became leaders in Israel. For example, the Kenites furnished the illustrious names of Heber, Caleb, Othniel, besides others not so renowned. When large bands such as these became a part of Israel, their acceptance of the religion of Jehovah and its peculiar rites was a matter of course. Later we do not hear so much of whole clans, but of individuals, such as Uriah the Hettite, Ittai of Gath, Zelek of Ammon (2 Sam. xv. 19; xxiii. 37). Now Israel was absolutely dependent upon such clients. In the presence of countless hostile elements which perpetually threatened confusion and destruction, during the régime of the Judges and at long periods intermittently thereafter, the conciliation of outsiders was an obvious political duty. They were besides much in demand as recruits for the soldiery (§ 520). Of the two great classes, bondmen and strangers, the latter were permanently the most important as feeders and auxiliaries. With the Canaanites, war to the death was for a time the theoretical policy. Practically, as we have seen, they were in most cases made bondmen, and then in large numbers emancipated. The "strangers" were from divers communities, which were not under the sacred ban.[1]

[1] The prescription of Deut. xxiii. 3 ff. against Moabites and Ammonites was evidently not observed, at least till after the time of David. The feud with Moab of the days of Ehud (§ 188) was quite forgotten in the later portion of the epoch of the Judges, as the Book of Ruth shows plainly. The association of David and his family with Moab just before his accession was of the most intimate kind (1 Sam. xxii. 3 f.). For Ammon, David's life-guardsman, mentioned above, is a case in point.

§ 551. It may be asked how it came to pass that assimilation and incorporation could take place so rapidly and on such an extensive scale. The answer is threefold. In the first place, the social conditions which prevailed throughout the whole ancient era made membership in one clan or another always desirable, and usually an absolute necessity for self-protection and even for the conveniences of life. Secondly, a transfer of political and religious allegiance was the most natural thing in the world, when each country and often each locality had its own deity, whose tutelage was extended as a matter of course to his clients within his jurisdiction, and to them alone. Again, the reception into the new society with its special religious and social observances was not a matter requiring a serious change of conviction or indeed any sort of an inward struggle of mind and conscience. The essence of the matter was the observance of certain well-understood ceremonies and formal prescriptions. True, Israel occupied a high moral position, from the spiritual claims made upon the votaries of its religion. But we read the Old Testament records to little purpose if we fail to recognize the abounding evidence they contain of wide-spread practical ignoring of these stern conditions during the greater portion of its history. Where Jehovah was sincerely worshipped under animal forms popularly associated with the rites of Baal; where "high-places" were everywhere to be found with altars dedicated to his service; and where every hedge-priest could minister at the shrines of the God of the land, no conscientious obstacles to the acceptance of the popular religion were likely to suggest themselves. Moreover, the initial outward condition of attachment to the religion and community of Israel, the rite of circumcision, was one not unfamiliar to the majority of Semites. It may be remarked that the clearest social distinction possible is made between the slaves and "strangers," by the enactment that the former were to be invariably circumcised, as already being members of the household,

whether they were bought with money or were home-born. The rite was, of course, prescribed for strangers only when they were adopted into the community.

§ 552. Naturally the accessions to the ranks of Israel from outside sources were more frequent in prosperous times and in seasons of peace. In times of hard fighting, soldiers of fortune might be naturalized (cf. § 520), but the country would receive but few spontaneous immigrants. The additions during the reigns of David and Solomon must have been very great. It is highly suggestive that just such epochs are chosen in the poetical literature as symbols of the ideal Israel, when it would be enlarged by the incorporation of foreign citizens who should come as in a stream to Jerusalem. The national policy in this regard seems to have been unaffected by prosperity or disaster. It was one of unvarying clemency and consideration. As toward the slave (§ 542 ff.), so towards the stranger, no harshness was to be shown. There was added too the same touching reminder, "For ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Ex. xxii. 21; xxiii. 9; Lev. xix. 33 f.; xxv. 23; Deut. x. 18 f.; cf. Ex. xxiii. 12; Lev. xix. 10; Numb. xxxv. 15; Deut. i. 16). The invidious distinctions prescribed in certain matters, such as liberty to lend to them on usury (Deut. xxiii. 20), or giving them to partake of food ceremonially unclean (Deut. xiv. 21), were rather in the nature of favours to Israel than discriminations against alien residents of the land. On the other hand, the indirect encouragements to affiliation were very strong. When once the uniting bond had been ratified, the whole circle of Israelitic privileges was open: the Passover (Ex. xii. 48; Numb. ix. 14), the joyous feasts (Deut. xvi. 9 ff.; xxxi. 12; cf. xxvi. 12 f.), and the solemn covenants (Deut. xxix. 10 f.; Josh. viii. 33 f.).

§ 553. The Hebrew system of the adoption of strangers was the very soul and life of the universalism of the later prophets. In idealizing this relation, as when they transfigure the associations of domestic life (§ 399, 407, 426,

429, 432 f.), the seers and poets of Israel instinctively seize upon the national attitude and policy towards strangers in its grand potentiality and significance. In the prayer at the dedication of the Temple, which was "to be called a house of prayer for all the peoples" (Isa. lvi. 7), and to which, as the religious centre of the world, all nations should come streaming (Isa. ii. 2 ff.; Mic. iv. 1 ff.), Solomon intercedes (1 K. viii. 41 ff.) in behalf of the "stranger" in Israel who should worship at the sacred place. Isaiah foresees that Egyptians and Assyrians shall join with Israel in oblation and sacrifice and privilege and blessed conditions (Isa. xix. 18 ff.). The Second Isaiah declares of the foreigners who join themselves to Jehovah, that their sacrifices should be just as acceptable to him as those of the native-born Israelites (Isa. lvi. 6 f.; cf. xliv. 5; xlv. 22 f.; lx. 3 ff.; lxvi. 18 ff.; Jer. iii. 17; xvi. 19; Zech. ii. 11, and especially viii. 20 ff.).

§ 554. The same exulting anticipation is expressed in the lyrical accompaniments of the prophetic voices. That Jehovah is the Ruler of the nations is a frequent boast of the Psalmists (Ps. ii., lxxii., lxxv., lxxxii., cx.). But some of them know of a more intimate and blessed relation. One declares that the emancipation of Israel is to be followed by the gathering of the peoples and kingdoms in Jerusalem to serve Jehovah (Ps. cii. 19 ff.; cf. lxxxvi. 9). Another presents us with the picture of a great festal sacrifice. A rejoicing over the deliverance of God's faithful ones from deadly peril is the immediate occasion. But the very thought of the great redemption makes all the ends of the earth turn adoringly to Jehovah; and all the kindreds of the nations are invited to the feast of thanksgiving. All alike — the nobles, the serfs, and the half-famished poor — are then to partake of the sacrifice and share in the worship (Ps. xxii. 25 ff.; cf. Isa. xxv. 6 ff.). The impassable gulf of separation is bridged over by the common meal and the common religious service. Here we have the essential elements in the naturalization

of the "stranger." The hospitality of the feast makes him a guest of Israel; fellowship in worship makes him a fellow-citizen. Another gives us a still wider and profounder view (Ps. lxxxvii.), in beautiful consonance with a prophetic utterance already cited (Isa. xliv. 5). Foremost among the thronging nations, the world-powers of the poet's time — Egypt, Babylon, Philistia, Tyre, and Ethiopia — receive the birth-right of Israelites. In Zion, where the new citizens are proclaimed to be votaries[1] of Jehovah, a record is kept of the old affiliations and the new. And see, the newcomers are not enrolled as proselytes and foreigners! They are entered in the register as free-born citizens of Zion (cf. § 549). Lastly, still another Psalmist — the same who sings, "Jehovah looseth the prisoners" (§ 546) — sums up for us the essential spirit and motive of the law and sentiment of Israel with regard to outsiders, "Jehovah preserveth the strangers" (Ps. cxlvi. 9).

§ 555. We have thus seen that slavery of the Hebrew or Old Testament type, and the traditional treatment of aliens, were two of the most beneficent and conservative of the social institutions of Israel. We may now resume our inquiry into the effects of Hebrew life and manners as a whole upon the fortunes of the people. At the close of the era we have at present under review, we find the Northern Kingdom at an end. Judah, according to the estimate left us by the best contemporaries, is in a most unpromising condition. The witnesses ascribe the decline and fall of Israel to a variety of destructive agencies. These agencies were, in part, enemies who assailed the nation from

[1] Not blind devotees or mechanical ritualists, as we learn from the descriptive phrase in ver. 4, "those that know me" (cf. Jer. xxxi. 34). This psalm — condensed almost to obscurity, and yet in some important respects the most instructive composition of the Old Testament — is not only one of the grandest of optimistic prophecies, but an assertion at the same time of the inward and spiritual character of incorporation into the true Israel. What an interval of progress between it and the conceptions of the days of the Judges (Ruth i. 15 ff.)!

without. One naturally asks whether the political ruin of Israel was not, after all, the work of these external foes.

§ 556. It is a question difficult to answer, what the fate of the two kingdoms would have been if their destiny had been determined by the action of outside nations alone, and if they had not been a prey to decadence within. It is hard to say whether, for example, Israel as a whole was inwardly and morally made better or worse by the desperate Syrian wars. One indirect benefit at least was gained, apart from the development among the people of the patriotic and heroic temper. War with Damascus and the surrounding nations generally meant in large degree hostility to their debasing worship. And so far as the strenuous resistance of their assaults implied and induced greater fidelity to Jehovah, Israel was thereby vastly the gainer. The relations with Assyria were of a somewhat different character. Collision with that invincible power was not primarily a life and death struggle. The empire of the Tigris would have been contented with mere submission and payment of tribute. And vassalage of the first degree (§ 286) would not have involved the loss of autonomy. It would certainly be morally and religiously injurious, tending to weaken popular faith in the supremacy of Jehovah and to familiarize the people with foreign modes of thought. But prolonged acquiescence in the Assyrian overlordship would bring with it a degree of civil quietude and domestic contentment utterly out of the question amid the turbulence of stubborn rebellion. If we are to trust the judgment of the Prophets, we must, in any case, believe that the decay and dissolution of Israel generally did not proceed from external enemies, but from noxious elements within. We have at an earlier stage summarized these moral principles and occasions of the dissolution of the state in their outward aspects and relations (§ 271, 320 ff.). We have now to inquire how they were connected with the constitution and internal workings of Hebrew society.

§ 557. It might not be difficult to dispose of the problem in a certain fashion by the application of a formula or the citation of a general principle. We may lay it down as an axiom that where there is little capacity of political development or adaptation, the social fabric is in danger of speedy overthrow. Now our sketch of the outward history of Israel simply confirms the general estimate of the political genius of the Semitic peoples given in our introduction (§ 28 ff.). A ready practical criterion of the political attainments of Israel may be seen in the fact that the prosperity and happiness of the people depended almost entirely upon the character of the rulers, who alone could give moral effectiveness to measures of internal state policy, or in the equally striking fact that the political reformers were mainly ministers of religion. It was, therefore, antecedently improbable that the Hebrew kingdoms could have either a lengthened or a prosperous history. Another point of view may be occupied. "Both history and science show us that social and economic changes to be permanent must be gradual, and fitted to the mental and moral conditions of the people."[1] Having already observed (§ 511) that while among the Semites political progress was extremely slow, social changes went on with comparative rapidity, we might accordingly maintain that the Hebrew national system could not in any case have become permanent. This position is tenable with the proviso just indicated (§ 556), that the causes of degeneration are internal and inherent, not external and adventitious. Our most obvious procedure is to take the theory of the decline of Israel held by the Prophets, and see whether the causes alleged are characteristic and sufficient. Fortunately, the case is in its main aspects very simple and easily disposed of. For this very reason it is the more exemplary and worth exhibiting.

§ 558. It is universally admitted that Israel was a singular community. Its singularity was due not so much

[1] Henry Dyer, *The Evolution of Industry* (1895), preface.

to its distinctive race characteristics as a supreme development of Semitism, but rather to the religious and moral bias which marked its career (§ 386 ff.), and which made it, in its highest and most influential types of thought and life, run counter to the genius of Semitism. Above all, it was unique in its ideal morality and in its disavowal of polytheism. A phenomenon so remarkable among Semitic nations, and so pronounced, must necessarily be the controlling factor in the history of any people manifesting it. Through lack of representative government and popular institutions, no Semitic state has long continued to flourish unless when maintained by adequate physical force (§ 56). There was but one alternative possibility; namely, that when material resources were wanting, moral principles might prolong the life of the state. A general illustration is afforded by the observation above made that the national weal always, as a matter of fact, depended, in Israel, upon the moral excellence of its rulers (cf. § 534).

§ 559. We are thus brought by general considerations to the same point which we reached (§ 533) in our inductive examination. That is to say, we are to inquire into the influence of the ruling classes in Israel. And we see again as clearly as before that the point at issue is their moral character and conduct. We have already learned (§ 534 ff.) what these social and political leaders were. Above all, yet with an authority more or less limited by that of the religious leaders, stood the absolute king. On the religious side were the priests and prophets, more or less subservient to "Jehovah's anointed." In the political sphere there were the local elders, the judges, and the princes, nominally responsible to the king, but in practice allowed as a rule to go their own way. The social leaders were naturally the officials just mentioned. But besides these, and continually forcing themselves or being forced into official positions, were the aristocracy of wealth, the large property owners and capitalists. Finally, there must be reckoned the courtiers, the continually in-

creasing throng of those who for purposes of intrigue or self-indulgence "ate at the king's table." At their head were the officers of the royal household. Theoretically these should have no separate place, since they were simply personal attachés of the king. Practically, however, they gradually attained to independent personal influence of the most decisive kind (Isa. xxii. 15 ff.; Jer. xxxvii. 15 ff.; cf. xxxviii. 25).[1] It is the relations sustained by these magnates to the common people on the one hand, and to the supreme rulers on the other, that determined both the political and the moral destiny of Israel. These relations were practically fulfilled (1) in the possession and use of property, (2) in the administration of justice, and (3) in the observances of religion.

§ 560. Let us take a backward glance, and learn how the complicated conditions of the later decisive periods were evolved. Before the clans of Israel came over the borders of Canaan, their social system was as nearly homogeneous as it is possible for any organized society to be. There was no order of nobility supported either by hereditary right or by the rights of property. Indeed, the hereditary privilege, which is the life of aristocracy, is bound up with the possession of fixed property; and the shifting, precarious character of proprietorship among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples renders this condition permanently impossible. There is accordingly every reason to believe that just as it was and is with the Arab *sheichs*,[2] so it was also with the synonymous Hebrew "elders" of the olden time, and even with the "princes of the congregation." Age and repute for wisdom were the qualifications that determined the choice, as is attested by the very name

[1] These are called "princes" in Jeremiah. In the later days of the kingdom of Judah this term was thus applied to the king's council.

[2] We are told by native Arabian authorities that it was something very remarkable when the chieftainship of a tribe remained in the same family for four generations. Kremer, *Die herrschenden Ideen des Islams* (1868), p. 316; cf. p. 311. Compare what was said in vol. i (p. 404) on the election of the modern Nestorian *mālik*.

"elder," common to all considerable ancient communities (cf. Job xxxii. 7). Again, the simplicity of living, among the highest and the lowest alike, made the multiplication of nobles of any grade out of the question.

§ 561. We have thus to picture to ourselves the social conditions of Israel in its early settlement as being but little modified from its primitive uniformity. Only a slight differentiation was made when the allotment of the new possessions brought some families and individuals into greater prominence than others. The clansmen, therefore, at this stage, when decisive changes were impending, were on a pretty even footing. Certain kins or family groups were, indeed, more powerful than others; but of the heads of families as a whole, none were very rich and none very poor. Nor was any freeman so low as that his voice might not be heard in council with the highest. But these relations began to be seriously interfered with by the first stages of the process of settlement.

§ 562. What, then, were the various classes of the population that were to be reckoned with? Besides the freemen of Israel and their families there were their household slaves and their clients or *gērim* (§ 540 ff., 548 ff.). These latter cannot have been very numerous relatively to the whole people of Israel. The "mixed multitude" of the desert wanderings (§ 453) must have been in great measure absorbed by adoption or got rid of as superfluous. Yet a constant influx of adventurous or needy strangers was inevitable during the residence east of Jordan. And the lust of plunder and of fertile lands must have brought many outsiders, whole tribes in fact, to join themselves to the invaders before the crossing of the river. Self-interest would impel these to profess the faith of Israel with all reasonable speed. Thus the armies and the households of the colonists were strengthened for war and labour. But the same accession increased the number of those who were to be provided for in the new domain. The process of their settlement presented problems more

formidable than the campaigns which decided against the Canaanites the question of military predominance. It furnished to the social life of Israel the new elements which gave form, direction, and bias to its development. And when the determining movements had potentially done their work, the social aspect of Israel in Canaan differed as greatly from that of Israel in its wanderings as the contour of Palestine, with its mountains and valleys, its slopes and precipices, differed from the simplicity and monotony of the desert.

§ 563. The first step in the direction of a landed aristocracy was made by the military leaders. In the nomadic and semi-nomadic state, the chief who leads his tribe to successful battle does not thereby gain a permanent elevation over his fellows. Upon his return to camp he becomes as before *primus inter pares*. The possession of *land* to be distributed or to be administered gives at once an entirely different character to the victorious leader. He is now the disposer of the land or eventually its trustee. That he himself personally retains a goodly share of the new possessions is to be expected. But his principal function in relation to the newly acquired territory is to portion it out among his family or his companions in arms.[1] Thus the land west of Jordan, as far as it was conquered in his days, was allotted by Joshua to the clans that had occupied it under his leadership; and the remainder was assigned to be divided among the tribes as they should succeed severally in acquiring it. In this he followed the example of

[1] This is finely set forth in the blessing of Jacob, where the dying patriarch says: "I have given thee one height of land above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorites with my sword and with my bow" (Gen. xlviii. 22). Jacob as a shepherd had no land to give. But in the persons of his descendants, returning to "the land of his sojournings," claiming it as the land of promise and subduing it with the sword and the bow, he has it in possession to be portioned out among his children. The "height of land" here is the same word as "Shechem," which was a place of great prestige and influence, and was, as a matter of fact, allotted to Ephraim.

Moses in the distribution of the lands east of the Jordan, which, however, being rather grazing ground than arable soil, was never held by Israel with a fixed and certain tenure (§ 190). So, again, Caleb the Kenizzite is appealed to as the proprietor and dispenser of the districts in southern Judah captured by his clan (Jud. i. 14 f.). In like manner, doubtless, the several sections of the northern tribes that gradually made their way to the more or less complete possession of their permanent homes, came to receive their allotments from the hands of their respective chieftains.

§ 564. The next stage in the process of settlement was the final securing of possessions by acknowledged title. Naturally the distribution was ratified by the approval of the heads of all the families of the preëmpting clan. This preliminary stage was in one district longer, in another shorter, but nowhere was the business easily or speedily concluded. That many, and often bitter, disputes preceded the final adjustment goes without saying. But conflicting claims could not be finally disposed of without the authoritative decision of the sectional leader, any more than the greedy Norman barons in England after the Conquest could have been safely left free to divide the helpless country among themselves. But how vastly must this function of supreme arbitrament have enhanced the authority and moral advantage of the leader! And who so likely as the successful military chieftain to be the permanent head of the colony, its chief counsellor and its "judge"? In this relation we have implicitly not merely the main condition, but the actual beginning of the régime of the Judges.

§ 565. We thus are again reminded that the matter turned finally upon the appropriation of land, mainly of cultivated land. On the one side there were the tracts of pasturage. But these also were formally allotted, though rather to family groups than to individual freemen. It is only among this less fixed population, and only in this

transition period, that anything like a communal system could have prevailed (cf. § 50). On the other side there were the cities. These, too, represented and depended upon cultivated land. Thus their more tardy expropriation by the invaders (§ 476 f.) did not involve the establishment of any other order of aristocracy than that of landed proprietorship.

§ 566. The homogeneity of the old pastoral life is now being threatened at the threshold of Israel's new home. The cultivation of the soil and the development of the industries proper to the life in towns and villages (§ 484) determine the most important permanent forms and grades of social life. We have just spoken of the freemen in Israel, and their acquisition of homesteads. That the great body of them were well provided for we cannot doubt. The immediate task of settlement was the sequel of the occupation. To that all the energies of the united clans had been bent. So here the feeling of brotherhood was too strong and universal to permit of continued disputes which would lead to exclusion from the common domain. The main endeavour was to secure enough for all. To accomplish this was, in fact, a matter of loyalty to Jehovah, whose cause was a constant and primary issue of the occupation. The necessary rule, at first, was protection and care for the Israelite, and merciless severity to the resisting Canaanite. For the wronged or impoverished Hebrew, ample provision had already been made in the Mosaic enactments.

§ 567. But this acquisition of permanent homes for themselves was only a part of the great undertaking. Israelitish freemen were but a minority of the population. There were, besides, the submissive or subjugated Canaanites and the body of *gērim*. These, as we know, were not superfluous elements or permanent aliens from the commonwealth of Israel. The very fact of their survival shows them to have been taken up by the community. And in the nature of the case they were indispensable to

the community. The ample institutions of slavery and clientage (§ 539 ff.) here began to play their beneficent and regenerative part in the evolution of the new Hebrew society. Slavery upon submission was the only alternative to death; and it was embraced by thousands of Canaanites. For these a use was immediately found, or rather had been from the first foreseen. The Hebrews were no agriculturists. Yet henceforth they were to get their living directly or indirectly from the ground. Tillers of the soil were at hand, ready to be set to work.[1] In many cases we have to imagine the former masters and proprietors employed as slaves upon their own estates. The "strangers" were similarly utilized. To them the less laborious tasks would be allotted. Where the Canaanite serfs toiled in the field or in repairing or erecting walls, and the like manual employments, these clients would be called, according to fitness and training, to the less servile avocation of overseeing and directing the task-work (cf. Ex. v. 14 ff.). The care of the flocks and pastures would also largely devolve upon them. The gradual improvement in the condition of both of these classes has already been noticed (§ 544 f., 549 ff.). Our present interest is with the leaders of society whom they served and aggrandized.

§ 568. It is related[2] of the chiefs who followed Mohammed in the inauguration of Islam, and who maintained

[1] Perhaps many old Canaanitic families were finally allowed to manage and cultivate the plantations for a fixed return of the produce. A suggestive parallel is furnished by the procedure of Mohammed and his followers after the subjugation of the cultivated Jewish settlement of Chaybar (A. D. 628). Half of the land was retained by the Prophet for himself and for sacred uses, and the remainder was divided among the faithful. But it was soon found that there were not hands or skill enough to work all the estates, so many of the conquered were permitted to return to their fields and till them on condition of paying one-half of the annual yield. See Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre des Muhammed* (1869), III, 275; Muir, *Life of Mohammed* (1861), IV, 74 f.

[2] See Kremer, *Ideen des Islams*, p. 348 f. Musa ibn Nosair, the conqueror of Africa, was a freedman, and became in his turn the owner of thousands of slaves and clients.

its victorious progress after his death, that they obtained vast numbers of slaves through the conquests of Abu Bekr and of Omar; that many of these were freed by them, and raised to the rank of "clients"; and that thus their respective households, and therewith their own power and prestige, were vastly increased. Not otherwise was it with the chiefs of victorious Israel upon the smaller arena of Palestine eighteen centuries before. That greatest of Semitic politicians, "the Cavour of Arabia," who knew so well how to adapt the institutions of the heathenism which he abolished, was anticipated by the greatest of Semitic statesmen and lawgivers. He, in a narrower field, and yet with a wider aim and achievement, utilized the common Semitic customs of servitude and clientage, and fitted them into the grander mission of his people. As Mohammed's lesson was followed up by his companions, so the policy of Moses was continued by his successors. Apart from the ultimate and consequential benefit of these institutions, their immediate effect was to furnish a number of strong and resourceful local centres as rallying-points for the people of Israel during their long and checkered struggle for the complete control of the land (§ 478 ff.). That many of these heads of families and kins, strengthened and appreciated though they were, declined through the wear and tear of conflict or the injuries of time and nature, is morally certain. Yet a goodly number of them survived the storm and stress of the period of the Judges. Through the genuinely Semitic device of affiliation by adoption (§ 550 f.), they were perpetuated till the latest time, and preserved in genealogical tables as well as in popular tradition the name and fame of the ancient heroes who came over with the Conqueror (1 Chr. ii. ff. *passim*).

§ 569. But we naturally revert to the classes of "nobles" in Israel, whom we have credited with determining, in their place and time, the moral destiny of Israel. How were these related to the early movements

that established so many dominant families? In this way, above all, that the officials, the elders, judges, princes of the congregation, were according to the recognized principle chosen as a rule from among the leading men. But there was a concomitant reason which gave fixity and duration to their incumbency of the offices. The simple round of life on the desert plains had made it possible for any prominent man to act as "counsellor," and hence the office of elder or that of *ḳāḍī* went around from one family to another. It became altogether different with the development of the new civilization. In Semitic life and history, as we have had frequent occasion to observe, forms of administration run perforce from one extreme to the other. The freedom and looseness of nomadic government gives place almost at a bound to the despotism of city-states (§ 36). General society exhibits a similar, almost paradoxical, contrast. In a settled and comparatively civilized community like that of Israel, where little or no general professional training was available, the various occupations (§ 484) became the monopoly of guilds. With the accumulation of knowledge and skill the advantage held by the hereditary craftsmen made these close corporations a matter of family propriety and privilege. Thus it was and is notoriously with all the trades and useful arts in every settled community in the Semitic world.

§ 570. In Israel, as we know, the highest spiritual as well as mechanical employments were vested in distinct families. The most stupendous example is the priesthood, which was awarded successively to Aaron, to his family, and finally to his whole clan and tribe. Nor was the occupation of prophet exempt, as the members of that class formed peripatetic bands or companies in the time of the Judges (1 Sam. x. 5 ff.) and were organized into the well-known guilds of "sons of the Prophets"[1] which played so

[1] It is scarcely necessary to remark that the term "son" used in such cases of members of guilds or professions (§ 431; W. R. Smith, *Prophets*,

large a part in the later history of the kingdom (1 K. xx. 35; 2 K. ii.; iv.; v. 22; vi. 1; ix. 1; cf. Am. vii. 14). That the professions of elder or judge should be specialized and differentiated in a similar manner was simply inevitable with the increasing complexity of city life and the various functions which such officials had to perform (§ 486 f.). We thus see fulfilled all the main conditions tending to establish, consolidate, and perpetuate throughout the realm of Israel families of influence, of wealth, position, and professional prestige. Add to this a more general motive that dominated every Hebrew, the desire to maintain the family unimpaired, and we have the sociological basis of that spiritual and civil aristocracy which was the moral controlling force of the nation.

§ 571. It will not be assumed by the reader that such an aristocracy was at any time very numerous. Indeed, the rule may apply in Israel that the influence exerted by powerful families was in inverse ratio to their number. Or, to put it more accurately, class influence is least when the number of well-to-do families is greatest. When in the earlier conditions none were very rich and none very poor (§ 560 f.), social influence in the strict sense was at its lowest. But the process of selection, indicated by the progress and the success of the favoured families, went on according to clearly defined principles. Long-continued possession of estates antecedes the accumulation of wealth. Property and social standing increase the clientèle. Suitors as well as dependants attach themselves. The household enlarges by affiliation and adoption. A family group absorbs or displaces rivals or collaterals. Family connection, however remote, is now highly prized and utilized to the full. The common ancestral hero or heroes, actual or feigned, lend dignity to the whole connection.[1]

p. 85; 388 f.) is employed because of the prevailing hereditary character of the occupation.

[1] Cf. Meyer, GA. II, § 56, with reference to the development of early Hellenic families.

Mutual aid to relatives and clients confirms the alliance.

§ 572. With this self-aggrandizing development of the prosperous kinship goes hand in hand the decline of unappreciated outsiders. This deterioration is slow but sure. "Wealth accumulates, and men decay." The capital of the country is small and is not being increased. There is no normal or continuous export trade to bring money into the country except that of agricultural products, whose limit of supply is speedily and early reached. When all live simply and frugally, as in the good old days, there is enough for all. But luxury demands more than enough, and always succeeds in getting it. Its success involves the impoverishment of the common man. "Fiat money," of no value in any age of the world without money's worth behind it, is not issued in Israel even for temporary relief. War, famine, pestilence, come upon the nation (cf. § 264). The concomitant privation, suffering, anxiety, and terror strike hardest upon the lower middle class and the very poor. Their lingering consequences swell further the roll of the destitute and the helpless.

§ 573. The normal distribution of the population, according to wealth, in a fairly prosperous community, shows us, "a few rich; a considerable number of well-to-do; a large number of busy, fairly well-housed, and fully nourished working people, who are engaged in all the arts of life; and a moderate proportion of poor."[1] In Israel, the last-named class became too numerous for the welfare of the state. Their case, and that of the unfortunate generally, occupies so much space in the national Hebrew literature, that it must have formed a most important practical issue in the national history. In giving to its consideration the attention it deserves we have contrasted it with that of the rich and powerful. It is necessary to go further and show that the antithesis is more than for-

[1] E. A. Atkinson, *The Industrial Progress of the Nation*, New York, 1890, p. 222.

mal or theoretical, that a chasm had been created between the rich and influential and the poor and insignificant, which widened and deepened ever till it rived the community in twain.

§ 574. We must see that the question is fundamentally a moral one, like all the greater issues of Hebrew history. The determining cause of the social catastrophe was not so much the growth of a wealthy party whose affluence involved the depletion of the masses. The question was not ultimately one of money and its transfer to the coffers of a few leading men. Such matters were merely incidental to the play of greater forces than any known to the material world. Underlying the inequality of fortune, and largely accountable for it, was the hidden work of evil tendencies and motives. What the Hebrew commonwealth needed most of all was the conserving force of righteousness among its leaders. Character was to it, as to all elementary communities, of more account than outward possessions. Character could not, perhaps, largely increase the capital of the people, but it could conserve it and secure that it be wisely distributed. All great moral revolutions either spring from social questions or are mainly promoted by them. It is these that bring out the possibilities of human nature by the stress and strain of some of the strongest and most persistent of passions known to men — ambition, emulation, avarice, greed. Thus it practically has come to pass that the welfare and prosperity of a country may be gauged and its fate forecast by the condition of its proletariat.

§ 575. Those who, in any age or country, are owners of capital, are morally bound not to hoard it or squander it or increase it unduly, but so to direct its employment — in other words, the work of the toiling majority — so as to fulfil the end of all labour, the furthering of the common weal. In the early days of Israel, before the growth of large cities and the development of any general trade, domestic or foreign, there were few gross temptations to

do otherwise than what was just or right in this matter. Ordinary trade and exchange were very slight and were in the hands of a few travelling merchants and market-men. The landed proprietors simply gave employment to their own retainers or hired servants, and it was their interest to have their employees well provided for. But the development of an industrial and commercial population, and the changes brought about generally by the increase of wealth and luxury (§ 571 f.), created a large and ever-increasing class of people who were thrown sooner or later upon the tender mercies of the rich. To people in distress in the fully developed Hebrew community there were two recourses. One was to sell some or all the members of the family into slavery. The other was to borrow money on usury. The latter was ordinarily the more severe ordeal of the two. Its usual issue was the beggary of the debtor, who then became the slave of the creditor, without the chance of the favourable conditions available in the former case.

§ 576. Such consequences of extreme poverty were so deplorable, that to prevent them, the taking of usury and even of moderate interest, from any but aliens, was forbidden by statute (Ex. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 19 f.). The result of the prohibition naturally would be, in a community where there was no commercial credit, that little borrowing of money was done at all, except under galling necessity. Lending to the poor was, indeed, urged as a humane and even as a religious obligation. But lending either money or goods, from a sense of duty or from pure benevolence, was not more fashionable even in the best ages of Israel than it is now. Relieving by actual gifts was also directly and indirectly enjoined as a duty to Jehovah himself. For the benefit of the poor it was ordained that the cultivated land, the vineyards and olive yards, should lie fallow every seventh year (Ex. xxiii. 10 f.). The Feast of Weeks was to be a time of general relief and solace to the poor (Deut. xvi. 10 f.). And the tithing of every third year

was expressly set apart for the help of those who had no inheritance, for "the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow" (Deut. xiv. 28 f.; cf. xxvi. 12 f.; cf. § 552).

§ 577. In the old purely agricultural and pastoral times, it was doubtless possible to relieve the wants of the destitute without the irksome obligation of undue self-sacrifice. In the first place, the number needing relief was comparatively small. Again, the means of relief were near at hand, at least for the most obvious cases. Food was to be had in the well-to-do neighbour's grain field or vineyard, if the beneficiary would but content himself with merely gathering in the hands, or with eating on the spot all that he might take (Deut. xxiii. 24 f.; cf. xxiv. 19).[1] These beneficent provisions were doubtless in many cases carried into effect, and we may assume that mendicancy, which it was their main aim to prevent, was in this age almost unknown.[2] National calamities, of which there were many, were borne by all classes alike.

§ 578. With the new conditions under the kingdom (§ 521 ff.), and the establishment of an aristocracy of place and wealth, came the breaking of the bonds of brotherhood. The process we cannot trace in detail. The literature of the whole period until the Exile reveals to us these characteristics of the times in both of the kingdoms: oppression of the poor; the taking of usury; the disregard not merely of brotherly rights, but even of the claims of humanity; the practical abrogation of all the kindly traditions and enactments which distinguish the Mosaic legislation from other ancient codes. Hand in hand with the neglect and the abuse of the poor

[1] These specific provisions are found first in the Deuteronomic code; but they are exactly in the spirit of the "Book of the Covenant," and are doubtless a reflex of the best usage of the early period.

[2] The manner in which David's band of "those who were in debt or distress" expected to be relieved by Nabal (1 Sam. xxv.) is an indication of the dependence of the one class of the community upon the other at the close of the ancient period. In the times of the established kingdoms such wholesale relief would be given only to religious companies (2 K. iv. 42).

and unfortunate by the rich and prosperous, went the abuse of justice in the local and provincial courts, the perpetrators being often the same in the one case and in the other. We shall, to be sure, have to beware of assuming that the oppression and moral degeneration were general. We must avoid, above all things, the employment of Hebrew rhetorical hyperbole in a calm historical review. But we shall find, as a matter of fact, that this was the great theme and burden of the prophetical and poetical literature, which constitutes the centre and heart of the Old Testament. By registering the counts in this long and solemn indictment of the responsible men in Israel, we shall learn, as we can in no other way, the secret of the social and moral struggle, whose issue was to be the eternal enthronement of freedom, righteousness, and mercy.

§ 579. The abuses that shattered the framework of Hebrew society may be divided into the general categories of private and public wrong-doing, though it will naturally be difficult to distinguish sharply between the two classes. The most obvious and serious evils which would come under the latter group, corruption and injustice among the judges and the officers of the court, are so closely interwoven with the whole social fabric, that we can hardly make anything more than a formal distinction in their presentation. In taking our survey of this tragic and memorable season, we shall have to range freely over the literature of Israel. We shall have to bring under one rubric the most various forms and styles: —

> "The statesman's great word
> Side by side with the poet's sweet comment."[1]

For lawgiver, prophet, psalmist, and moralist alike agonized with the burden that was crushing the life of the nation and breaking its heart.

§ 580. We may begin with the most fundamental institution, the ownership of land and fixed property. If it

[1] Browning, *Saul*, xiii.

was a recognized principle that every person, or rather every family,[1] should be the independent possessor of a freehold in land (§ 566), it follows that any attempt to deprive the proprietors of their holdings was an encroachment on such a right. The Hebrew theory of the matter is characteristic. It might fairly be argued in a given case that the dispossession of the owners was accomplished under the forms and with the sanction of consuetudinary law, and that therefore it could not be wrong. The plea would not satisfy a true Hebrew publicist. He would be ready with the reply that the transfer might have been made, as in the case of a foreclosed mortgage, according to the terms of an explicit covenant, and yet it would be illegal, because it would conflict with a higher proprietorship. The owner of the land, while a freeholder, was yet a tenant. He, to be sure, did not pay any rent, as his own retainers never paid rent to him, such a system being unknown to this stage of social development. He as the head of his "family" was a tenant of the Owner of the soil.

§ 581. The land had not been held communistically; hence the proprietor was not responsible to the community, whether family group, or clan, or tribe, or nation. Nor was it the property of the king, to whom the holder was to pay an annual tribute or tax for its use, as in ancient Egypt and modern India. No; the land had been seized in the name of Jehovah, and was thenceforth administered for him. True, "the earth was Jehovah's and its contents, the world and the dwellers therein." But "Jehovah's land" in a special sense was the soil which his people cultivated, whose produce was dedicated to him, where his altars were reared, and his name continually invoked. The occupant of any portion of that soil accordingly stood in the closest of relations to him; and the alienation of such property by fraud or violence was not simply wrong done to the immediate cultivator, but despite against the

[1] Comp. W. H. Bennett, "Economic Conditions of the Hebrew Monarchy" in *The Thinker*, vol. III (1893), p. 128.

supreme, ultimate Lord of the land, with whom the soil itself and his true worshippers were indissolubly united. Hence the sacrilege and impiety of land-grabbing and kindred practices.

§ 582. From this point of view we can now understand the motive of the provision for the destitute, the fatherless, and the stranger, made from the superfluity of the prosperous man's estate (§ 576). The poor and even the guests in Jehovah's land (§ 552) are the subjects of his care, and entitled to a share of what the soil brings forth under Jehovah's nurture. That is to say, if the occupant has rights against any intruder because he is Jehovah's *tenant*, he has also obligations to the wards of the nation, because he is, after all, only Jehovah's *trustee*.

§ 583. How large this twofold obligation looms before the open-eyed reader of the Old Testament! A curse is pronounced upon him "who removes his neighbour's landmark," or boundary stone (Deut. xxvii. 17). This simply follows up an explicit command based upon the plea that it is a landmark "which they of old time have set" (Deut. xix. 14). Unlike some of the injunctions of the Mosaic code, which had no discoverable practical application in the lives and manners of the people, this provision finds an echo in the most popular elements of the national literature. Thus, in the book of Proverbs, the prescription of the law is repeated with the same plea annexed (Prov. xxii. 28). And the whole case is presented besides in memorable words: "Remove not the old-time landmark; and into the fields of the fatherless do not intrude. For their God is mighty; he will plead their cause against thee" (Prov. xxiii. 10 f.). But it is when the matter comes within the cognizance of the Prophets that its full significance is revealed. In the Northern Kingdom the expropriation of Naboth, accomplished by his judicial murder (1 K. xxi. 1–16), rises, under the moral indignation of Elijah, to the dignity of a national tragedy, whose catastrophe is the death of the offenders, inflicted with poetic justice, and

the subversion of their dynasty (2 K. ix. 24 ff.). In the kingdom of Judah, in spite of its moral advantages (§ 271, 276 f.), the evil became rampant and intolerable. The two prophets of the close of the period now under review place it in the forefront of the iniquities which excite the displeasure of Jehovah and presage the ruin of the state; which bring, moreover, desolation upon the inheritances that have been increased by assiduous plotting, unscrupulous usurpation, and insatiable greed (Isa. v. 8 ff.; Mic. ii. 1 ff.).

§ 584. Of the processes by which such rapacity secured its nefarious ends, we are not particularly informed. We are, however, justified in including therein many of the special forms of evil which make up the burden of the endless complaints of those who were set for the defence of the oppressed and for the salvation of Israel. For inasmuch as personal possessions were an indispensable condition of the nurture and survival of the family, their alienation was the cardinal social wrong, the most comprehensive form of civic calamity. We may therefore imagine that the loan of money upon "usury" and with "pledges" resulted, in a multitude of cases, directly or indirectly, in the loss of the precious patrimony of house and field. Personal security by a pawn was extremely common from the earliest history of Israel (Gen. xxxviii. 17 ff.). Its employment in the most trivial transactions shows better than anything else the rudimentary character of business dealings and methods, and at the same time that appreciation of property which has always distinguished the Hebrew race. In ordinary transactions its tendency was to gradual impoverishment. A society where the most common form of pledge was one's upper raiment, which served the borrower for his night-covering (Ex. xxii. 26 f.; Deut. xxiv. 10 ff., 17),[1] and

[1] Notice that in Deut. xxiv. the word "pledge" (v. 10) is explained by "garment" (v. 13) which had not previously been mentioned. This is evidence that the movable property possessed by the majority of debtors consisted of what was absolutely necessary for life, and nothing besides, else it would be given in pledge instead of raiment (cf. xxiv. 6).

in which at the same time a taste for fine and showy raiment was indigenous,[1] must have contained a large percentage of the miserably poor.[2] The poetical and prophetical writers of all periods show, from their several points of view, how the number was increased and how the poor were made poorer, by the merciless enforcement of the pawnbroker's claim (Job xxii. 6; xxiv. 3; cf. Prov. xx. 16; xxvii. 13; Amos ii. 8; Ezek. xviii. 7, 12, 16; xxxiii. 15). Such experiences on the part of the indigent led inevitably in very many cases to the last stage of distress, — the alienation of the family domain. This left the hapless victim homeless and helpless. The only recourse for the preservation of the life of his household was servitude, with little or no hope of release at the end of the seventh year,[3] in spite of the enactments of the Mosaic law.

§ 585. From these and many other tokens it becomes clear that for the common man in Israel it was often a great question not simply how he was to make a living, but how he was to maintain his personal freedom. The first serious misfortune of life — so easily occasioned by sickness, or the failure of crops, or a raid from over the border, or the knavery or trespass of a dishonest neighbour — was to many a one a sentence to life-long servitude. Statutes had been made for the relief of the debtor or for the mitigation of his lot. And yet his condition often became practically hopeless. While hard for himself, it

[1] Comp. Van Lennep, *Bible Lands, their modern Customs and Manners illustrative of Scripture*, New York, 1875, p. 507 f.; Nowack, HA. p. 124 f., 128 ff.

[2] The Prophet's habit of untanned leather was doubtless not merely a protest against extravagance and display in costume, but also an expression of sympathy with the poor and their plain attire (cf. 2 K. i. 8 and Matt. iii. 4; vii. 15 and xi. 8; Luke vii. 25).

[3] The fact that no mention is made of such release of bondmen till the very close of the Judaic kingdom (Jer. xxxiv.) is presumptive evidence that the merciful provisions of Ex. xxi. 2, Deut. xv. 12, were more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Moreover, Jer. xxxiv. 14 expressly says of the Deuteronomic statute: "Your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear."

was apt to be still harder for his children. A case is cited as though it was an every-day occurrence (2 K. iv. 1 ff.). A God-fearing man of the time of Elisha had died when in pecuniary difficulties. His widow is confronted by "the creditor," who seizes her sons to make them his slaves. Against the tyrant there is no redress. All that is left to the sympathetic prophet is to procure for her the means of satisfying his claim. A similar instance appears to be alluded to as typical in the prophetic style (Mic. ii. 9), with the additional horror that the children are sold out of Jehovah's land. The custom of selling the persons of debtors is so common that it is used as the basis of a wide-reaching metaphor (Isa. l. 1). And the historical picture of a much later time (Neh. v. 3 ff.), which shows us a wholesale seizure of estates by usurious creditors, was doubtless but an extension under favouring circumstances of a system which prevailed in the days of the kingdom in many localities within a wider territory.

§ 586. A question naturally arises. How were such exactions and oppressions habitual, or at any time possible or consistent with the humanitarian spirit (cf. § 546 f.) which was an outgrowth of the higher life of Israel? It is not sufficient to say that the ameliorating or prohibitive provisions of the legal codes were merely idealizing schemes without practical significance. They were devised to remedy evils already gross and noxious, and only secondarily to prevent possible moral degeneration. The "Book of the Covenant" and the Deuteronomic code, which substantially agree, as our citations have shown, in their treatment of the land and labour question, were, to be sure, apparently never actually canonized into the statute law either of the tribal or of the monarchical régime.[1] Yet

[1] The opinion that all the minute regulations of the Pentateuchal codes could have been put in force as part of the judicial administration of Israel implies a misunderstanding of Oriental government, and indeed of ancient society generally. So much was possible as the social and moral development of the ruling classes of the people was able to adapt and util-

they were known and urged upon both king and people by the ministers of Jehovah. And their letter and spirit alike would have prevailed against the selfish and pernicious practices of the rich and powerful, were it not for another great and evil feature of Hebrew life and morals, whose consideration brings us from the category of private into that of public wrongs (§ 579).

§ 587. The essential evil was that there was no potent public conscience, educated by frugality, self-denial, and the fear of God, alive to the needs of the suffering and the unfortunate, and alert to provide a remedy. We have spoken of the responsibility and influence of a king in Israel (§ 534, 559). But even in an Oriental monarchy the king was the product of the state. The public that was behind him, as it is behind all rulers in any type of society, was that to which he listened, that which managed his revenues, which proffered him counsel, which carried out his commands, well-reasoned or whimsical, and which kept him in good humour generally (Hos. vii. 3). He could only be influenced by those who had his ear; and they, as a rule, were the courtiers, the nobles, the judges, and the central priesthood. If we wish to learn the why and wherefore of the fate of moral movements in ancient Israel, it is to these we must look for the explanation (cf. § 533, 559).

§ 588. The prosperity and comfort of the masses in Israel were not merely checked by the natural disadvantages under which they laboured in the struggle for existence. The special disabilities above described would in any case have been removed if there had been a righteous, independent court of justice to which the sufferers could appeal. The absence of such tribunals was the chief organic vice or defect in the constitution of Israel, as it was certainly the foulest blot upon its historic reputation. To whom would one in difficulties appeal in

ize, and nothing more. Utopia is not to be found either in the beginning, or middle, or end of the history of Israel.

his trouble? In the olden times, to the head of his clan, or to the elder of his "city," or, above all, to his priest.[1] The last-named had this great advantage over the other dispensers of justice, that he was naturally resorted to in any case for the consecration of flesh and wine and the fruits of the earth, as well as for the offering of stated sacrifices, and for the still higher function of speaking in the name of Jehovah. Granting that the priests were usually invoked merely in questions of propriety or right, not involving pains and penalties (§ 488), it will appear what an enormous influence they must have wielded in the domestic and social economy of the people. Modern parallels of sacerdotalism suggest themselves. But these can give only a faint idea of the power of the priesthood in a community where little or no distinction was made between the sacred and the secular in any of the affairs of life (cf. § 61 f., 397).

§ 589. What such functionaries were likely to do in the administration of justice after the establishment of the central shrines in the times preceding the monarchy, we may infer from the example of the sons of Eli, notorious for greed and dishonesty, as well as licentiousness (1 Sam. ii. 12 ff.). We may well believe that with the establishment of higher civil powers under the monarchy the relative judicial influence and activity of the priests would be seriously abated. Yet it necessarily remained a perpetual function of the priest to give decisions from Jehovah. How this was done at the close of our period we learn from Micah (iii. 11), who declares that in his day they did so "for money," while Isaiah denounces them for giving unreliable or "vacillating" decisions (xxviii. 7). So much for the kingdom of Judah. For the priests of the Northern Kingdom, not long before its fall, we have the arraignment of Hosea (iv. 4 ff.). From the ministers of the local shrines of Northern Israel no high standard of

[1] Cf. Kuenen, *National Religions and Universal Religions* (Hibbert Lectures), New York, 1882, p. 89 ff.

morals was to be expected. But it is mainly the priests of the central sanctuary at Jerusalem that Isaiah and Micah have in view. That these functionaries kept up the worst traditions of their profession in still later times we learn from Zephaniah (iii. 4) and Jeremiah (vi. 13; viii. 10). Last of all, Malachi, in a withering indictment, accuses them of "respect of persons" in giving their decisions[1] (ii. 8 f.).

§ 590. Or the man with a grievance might resort to the local judges, either directly or on appeal from his natural family head, or the elders of his city. He would, indeed, be apt to do so in a matter of urgency (cf. Luke xviii. 2 ff.). For, while the judicial function of the priest ended with the giving of the decision, the judge possessed in addition the executive power. Indeed, this must have been the cardinal distinction between the two classes. The priests (and prophets), by the very nature of their office, were revealers of the will or counsel of "the highest God" (Gen. xiv. 18), while the "judge" was primarily rather a "regulator" (cf. § 51) than an arbitrator. Hence the execution of his own sentence is committed to the judge (Deut. xxv. 1 ff.). In general, among "judges" no distinction was drawn between the judicial and the executive function. Nor can we speak of various classes of courts, such as higher or lower, of appellate or of concurrent jurisdiction. One might apply to any recognized authority near at hand (cf. § 486, note). So, also, an aggrieved person might pass over the lower local official and apply for redress directly to the king himself

[1] I scarcely need to include the order of Prophets among the officials charged with judicial functions. For, though they frequently gave decisions upon important matters, they did not act so much for individuals as for communities. Nor did they decide matters of practical controversy so much as announce proper plans of action in emergency or principles of the divine government. Notice that in the instance cited above (§ 585) Elisha does not venture to act as judge, nor even to intercede for the victim of oppression. The prophets were often, however, venal and partial, like the priests, in their proper sphere.

(1 K. iii. 16 ff.), or to the officers of his court as his representatives.

§ 591. We must accordingly beware of supposing that there were fixed grades of judicial officers with well-defined duties for the several ranks. Such a thing is foreign to the Semitic genius, which does not organize or classify in any department of civic life, except where a powerful corporation has been self-developed, or where the very existence of the state demands a well-arranged division of functions. There were three spheres of public activity in which some sort of gradation was made for these reasons. These were the priesthood, the military, and the officers of the revenue. From the last two classes the king drew the greater number of his chosen counsellors. In judicial affairs, just as reliance for practical guidance was placed mainly upon consuetudinary law, so seniority of rank was a matter of hereditary position, of wealth, or of favour with the court. Hence looseness in procedure and an absence of the sense of responsibility were inherent in the order of judges in Israel.

§ 592. Such conditions as these gave free play to the deadly vices that were fostered in the bosom of society. If the supreme rulers of Israel had appreciated as well as did the Prophets the vital importance to the state of a sound judicial system, doubtless some sort of reform of methods as well as of principles might have been attempted. But here, again, we see the working out of underlying national and racial tendencies. Slowly and imperceptibly, but with terrible certainty, men reap what they sow in the indivisible spheres of government and social morality. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out (§ 456 ff.) that the beginnings of judicial administration were of an elementary character, and that they were not matters of divine revelation, which concerned itself with principles of conduct and not with the creation of civil institutions. The careless or patient acquiescence in the mere survival of outworn customs, and the indolent adaptation of

ancient usages to new and complex conditions, made the judicial system of Israel what it was in the days of the kingdom. These did not constitute "a crime for the judges" (Job xxxi. 11). But they prepared the way for the most flagrant abuses and for the inward decay of the nation. We see, indeed, that great changes went on in certain directions, notably in the *personnel* of the ministers of justice. With the ever-increasing centralization that marked the history of the kingdom, the officers of the court, or the "princes" appointed by the king, gained in authority and in range of jurisdiction, while the local magistrates, holding an hereditary or an elective office, proportionately declined. But the change only brought deterioration instead of progress, as it increased the opportunities of the abuse of power and of self-aggrandizement on the part of the central authorities. With these considerations in mind we find it easy enough to fall in with the counsel: "Where thou seest the oppression of the poor man, and the violent taking away of justice and righteousness in the state, do not marvel thereat" (Eccl. v. 8). And we may trace the evil not merely to its direct occasion, the false passions of men, but also to the prescriptive system, which encouraged all sorts of disorders in the unfortunate body politic.

§ 593. But to return to the actual facts of the situation in the most critical times of Israel's history. No region of Hebrew life is so thoroughly illustrated for us by competent observers as the sphere of the administration of justice. And upon none has such unqualified condemnation fallen. Those who cared most for justice, and most for the essential welfare of the state — the historians, prophets, moralists, hymn-writers, who have left their impressions, and who were most likely to know the truth and to set it in its true relations — unite in stern rebuke and bitter invective, so unreserved and so persistent that it forms of itself the most extensive moral rubric in the literature of Israel. There is no space to present the

matter adequately. The following analysis may serve as a general characterization.

§ 594. The most frequent and virulent source of the abuse of justice was the venality of its ministers, whether local judges or the "princes" of the court. To a casual observer of Oriental life the prevailing official corruption is something appalling. To the close inquirer it seems indigenous and inevitable. To the true servants of Jehovah it was appalling, but neither inherent nor necessary. It was rather an exotic growth, or a twist aside from the true bent of Israel's development. When we consider the social and governmental encouragements to laxity and neglect (§ 592), and, still further, the seductive moral atmosphere in which the leaders of the people moved, we shall marvel at the moral courage of the Prophets in opposing the dominant evil. We must also admire their insight in discerning its essential relations to society, and their ideality in conceiving the possibility of its being discarded anywhere in the Semitic world. One illustration may suffice. The common word for a "bribe" (שֹׁחַד) is, properly speaking, a "present," and is used of the propitiatory gifts sent to a superior in order to secure his protection (1 K. xv. 19; 2 K. xvi. 8), or by one who seeks to evade deserved punishment (Prov. vi. 35; cf. xxi. 14). A similar combination of meanings is shown by a less common term (מַתָּנָה; cf. Gen. xxv. 6 with Prov. xv. 27; Eccl. vii. 7). That is to say, a present is for the most part a sort of bribe. The one meaning leads up to the other by a sort of social necessity. Presents are the ordinary preliminaries of visits and negotiations. Their motive and effect naturally comes to be the influencing of the beneficiary (Prov. xvii. 8; xviii. 16). Citations of instances from Oriental or Biblical history would simply overcrowd my pages. Wherever and whenever we get a glimpse of the inner movements of Semitic society we find the custom and the motive. We shall only cite further Jacob's gift to Esau (Gen. xxxii. 13; xxxiii. 10; cf. xliii.

11; 1 Sam. x. 27; Ps. xlv. 12) and the present of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah (Isa. xxxix. 1; § 637, 679). In general Semitic history we may go back some hundreds of years, and in the casually disclosed correspondence of the El Amarna tablets the business is seen to be quite overdone (§ 149 f.). The annals of the Assyrian kings fairly swarm with instances. It is, therefore, the most natural thing in the world to send a present to a judge before a case comes up for hearing; though publicity was, of course, not desirable in the transaction (Prov. xxi. 14), and was usually avoided, as a suggestive proverb informs us (Prov. xvii. 23). Only public opinion frowning down upon open and shameful corruption, or the spectacle of judges repudiating any sort of approach from the side of a litigant, would seem likely to discredit the custom.

§ 595. The evil, indeed, was dealt with by the lawgiver of the ancient code, and that in the most reasonable and persuasive fashion: "Thou shalt take no bribe; for a bribe blindeth those that have sight, and perverteth the cause of the righteous" (Ex. xxiii. 8; cf. Deut. xvi. 19). Yet the abuse was prevalent in the time of the Judges. In spite of the noble record and example of Samuel, his sons, judges by his own appointment, became notoriously venal (1 Sam. viii. 1 ff.). Samuel's protest and challenge[1] on his own behalf (1 Sam. xii. 3 ff.), were of themselves an indication that his virtues were rare. We may learn something of the processes of civil justice under the kingdom by consulting the Prophets. For the Northern Kingdom Amos asserts (v. 12) that bribery was a prevalent evil of his time. For Judah and Jerusalem Isaiah cries aloud (i. 23; v. 23; x. 1), and his contemporary Micah sets forth the paradox that judge, priest, and prophet alike are greedy and corrupt and yet pro-

[1] Samuel's custom of taking a small fee or "present" for giving counsel from Jehovah, doubtless followed by other "seers" of the period (1 Sam. ix. 7 ff.), was of a different nature; but it was a practice very easily abused.

claim their trust in Jehovah (iii. 5, 11). He lets us also into the inner methods of those betrayers of the people (vii. 3).[1] Ezekiel's arraignment (xxii. 12 f.) is a review of the history of the kingdom. The long-continued prevalence of the abuse is perhaps best shown by the large place given to it in the proverbial literature of the nation (Prov. xv. 27; xvii. 8, 23; xviii. 16; xxi. 14; xxv. 14). The final deliverance on the subject refers to the corruption practised by the king himself. This alone, it is declared, is sufficient to undermine and ruin the state (Prov. xxix. 4). We are brought into a somewhat different region when we turn to the lyrical poetry of the Hebrews. Here it is not the preacher of righteousness thundering out the judgment, nor the philosophical observer pointing the moral. It is rather the sympathetic partisan of the outraged and oppressed, who voices their wrongs and their sufferings, and brings them into relation with the practical claims of religion upon both the transgressors and their victims (Ps. xv. 5; xxiv. 4; xxvi. 10; cf. Isa. xxxiii. 15; § 599 f.).

§ 596. Sufficient has perhaps been said to set forth the chief specific sources of the moral and social undoing of the people of Israel. We find, however, that kindred or at least concomitant evils, encouraged by the immunity afforded to wrong-doing, infested and poisoned the national life. The grosser vices which struck more directly at the individual character, and indirectly at the welfare of the state, have already been characterized (§ 296, 320 ff.). Licentiousness and conjugal infidelity, promoted by, and in their turn promoting, idolatrous practices, were foremost among

[1] Translate vii. 3, according to a restored text:

"To make ready their hands for evil,
The noble asks counsel, and the judge answers for hire
And declares to him what his soul lusts for."

This passage and the context were probably written, not by an unknown prophet, as many recent critics suppose, but by Micah himself in his later years under Manasseh.

these sins. To them must be added intemperate indulgence in strong drink, especially in Northern Israel (Isa. xxviii. 1, 3; Amos vi. 6), and that not only among men, but among the ladies of Samaria (Amos iv. 1). It was also rife in high places in Judah (Isa. v. 11; xxviii. 7 f.). It is the leaders of the people who play the crowned Bacchus in the drunken revels of Samaria; and Isaiah ascribes to habitual intoxication the incompetency of priests and prophets in Jerusalem. Dishonesty in business transactions comes perhaps next to the vice of bribery in loosing social bonds. It is evidenced by the extraordinary earnestness with which suretyship is depreciated in the proverbial literature (Prov. vi. 1 ff.; xi. 15; xx. 16; xxii. 26 f.); by the frequent use of false weights and balances (Hosea xii. 7; Amos viii. 5; Mic. vi. 10 f.; cf. Deut. xxv. 13–15; Prov. xi. 1; xvi. 11; xx. 10, 23), and by various sorts of special knavery, ranging from the theft of small sacrificial offerings (Amos ii. 8) to making a "corner" in wheat (Prov. xi. 26; cf. Amos v. 11; viii. 6). Finally, we must not lose out of sight the degeneration and corruption of Hebrew womanhood (cf. § 271). No single general cause could contribute more to the internal decay and dissolution of society than the frivolity, extravagance, and luxurious self-indulgence of the mothers and wives of the citizens. It is therefore with unerring moral as well as sociological instinct that the reforming prophet Isaiah repeatedly connects disaster to the state with their evil character and doings (Isa. iii. 16 ff.; xxxii. 9 ff.; cf. § 721).

§ 597. We have, I trust, been able to get some light upon the nature of the "social question" in Israel, and also to learn why it was so long a "burning question." The best proof that social unrest and disorder, from the wrong-doing of those in power, were characteristic of Israel's history, is to be found in a fact already alluded to (§ 593). The cause of the unfortunate was not espoused by legislators and reformers alone. These might be suspected of professional prejudice, if not of personal

interest in agitation. The champions and advocates of the distressed were, above all, those whom we may call the popular writers of the nation, those who made its songs, its proverbs, and its moral essays. We have presented to us here a phenomenon of the very highest moment. There is no practical question which occupies these great thinkers and patriots as much as this. It is literally harped upon in season and out of season. Among a people like the Hebrews, we expect that such a problem would assume a religious aspect. But we are surprised to find that it is constantly brought into relation with the widest issues of the spiritual life, the most fundamental duties, the most solemn sanctions of religion. Regard for the poor and the oppressed is, in fact, itself an essential part of religion. The inference is obvious. If, as will presently appear, the practical religious life of Israel was mainly conversant with these social matters, it must have been chiefly from this habit of mind and bent of soul that the moral and spiritual sentiment of Israel was fostered and developed. The concluding portion of this inquiry will be devoted to an attempt to exhibit the phenomenon in its literary and historical setting, and to justify the inferences which it suggests.

§ 598. Following the principle laid down at the beginning of this series of studies (§ 391), we shall, in order to get if possible at the innermost circle of the social life of Israel, take a fresh look at its sociological literature. It will be very helpful to take a cursory glance at the book of Psalms from the point of view of a member of the ancient society itself. (1) As it would strike a contemporary, the book seems to be largely made up of a sort of partisan literature. A majority of the Psalms at least would be quotable against a powerful party, or set, or class in the state, that is bitterly opposed by the authors of the poems. (2) This obnoxious party has continually the upper hand. (3) Its adherents are designated by various epithets which seem to be interconvertible terms. They are "wicked" (*e.g.* Ps. i.; v.; vii.; ix.–xii.; xiv.; xxxvii.; lxii.–lxiv.),

"malignant" (*e.g.* vii.; lii.; liv.; lvii.; lxxi.; xciv.; cix.; cxxiii.–cxxv.; cxxxix.), ambitious of honours and of influence in wrong-doing (lxxv.; xciv.), cynical and frivolous (xiv.; xxxv. 16). (4) These moral characteristics are interchangeable with others which at the first glance seem merely social and material. The same people who are called "wicked" are directly or indirectly described as "rich" (xvii.; xxxvii.; xlix.; lii.; lv. 19; lxxiii.), and, as such, deserving of equal reprobation. Greed and covetousness (x. 3; xlix. 6 ff., 16) seem to be inseparable in the Psalms from the possession of riches. (5) The most pernicious and far-reaching social abuse — the work of evil judges (§ 590 ff.) — is duly stigmatized, and the offenders put in an everlasting pillory (Ps. lviii.). Just because their function makes them to be as "gods" (lxxxii. 1, 6), the moral "foundations of the earth are moved out of course" through their unjust and partial decisions. Yea, the time is coming when the outraged people shall rise against them and hurl them down the sides of the rock (cxli. 6). It is "crime enthroned which produces mischief according to statute" (xciv. 20).

§ 599. The poetical books generally, and especially the Psalms, manifest an attitude towards this social question, and a spirit and temper different from those of the other interested books. All the Old Testament writings, it is true, reveal intense sympathy with the poor and the unfortunate. But the Psalms above all give a moral quality to their condition. They are here made a special community or class, enjoying not merely the protection of Jehovah, for that was the distinctive doctrine of the Hebrew legislation (§ 576, 582 f.), but his peculiar favour as well. If, on the other hand, we desire a minute description of the lot of the poor, we must turn to the book of Job. No catalogue of social wrongs can be more graphic or more touching than that furnished in Job xxii. 5 ff., xxiv. 2 ff. It is there contended just as earnestly as in the Prophets that their sufferings are due in large measure to the mag-

nates who oppress and rob the helpless, and defy God himself in the confidence born of prosperity.[1] This is the most piteous cry that is heard in all ancient literature over the unrelieved sufferings of the poor and their unavenged wrongs.

§ 600. Naturally, however, it is rather a judicial tone that is adopted in the book of Job, the vindication of whose hero demands that he should impartially look from all sides upon the problems of life. In Chapter xxxi. Job not merely offers a minute justification of his own career, but at the same time registers the temptations to which an elder and judge is subject. He even goes so far as to say that while the wickedness of the world is due to evil judges, their partiality is tolerated by God's providence (ix. 24). The book of Proverbs, also, on the whole, views the matter from the outside, an attitude that befits the philosophy of life in general. The Prophets, who are the public and professional partisans of the poor and the oppressed, occupy themselves perforce in "speaking for" others, protesting against their wrongs, and showing the guilt of the leaders of society. But in the Psalms, the sufferers speak directly for themselves and always as a part of the afflicted community. The book, as a whole, is the record of practical life, the breathing out of feeling and sentiment evoked by the pressure and strain, the wear and tear, of its mixed and unequal conditions. It is here especially that the poor and the unfortunate find their voice and cry aloud to Jehovah the God of mercy and justice (§ 595).

§ 601. Note the following series of related facts which, by various paths, lead to the heart of the social and moral problems of ancient Israel. (1) Religion, simple as it is, includes, as one of its indispensable and essential elements,

[1] On the other hand, the fine picture of an ideal prince drawn in Ps. ci. (cf. lxxii. 4, 12–14) is more than matched in realistic and discriminating detail by the portrait of a just and noble judge and elder given in Job xxix. 7 ff.

regard for the poor and the distressed. "Kindness" or mercy is one of the prophetic graces indispensable to religion, but hard to find among the leaders of Israel (Mic. vi. 8; vii. 2 ff.). (2) But the possession of this general virtue is brought to a practical searching test when fellowship and sympathy with the unfortunate are held to secure the favour and protection of Jehovah (Ps. xli.; Prov. xiv. 21; xix. 17; xxviii. 8, 27; contrast Ps. x. 3; xxxv. 10; xli. 5 ff.; Prov. xxi. 13; xxii. 16, 22 f.), and to be of themselves an indication of religious character and standing (Ps. xli.; Prov. xiv. 31; xxix. 7; ctr. Ps. x. 9 ff.). (3) The "poor" are actually made synonymous with the "righteous," as (§ 598) the "rich" with the "wicked" (Psalms, *passim;* Prov. xiii. 23; xix. 1, 22; cf. Isa. liii. 9). (4) The "poor" are engaged in an unequal struggle with the "wicked," which, however, is bound to terminate in their ultimate triumph; in particular, they are contending for the possession of "the land" (Ps. xxv. 13, 15 ff.; xxviii. 3 ff.; xxxvii. 3, 9, 18, 25, 34 ff.; xlix. 10 ff.; lii. 5 ff.; cf. Prov. x. 3, 7; xiii. 22 f.; xxi. 12; xxiv. 15 ff.). This issue is manifestly raised in consequence of the judicial oppression of the poor, and the extension of the estates of the rich and powerful (§ 580 ff.). (5) The conflict was more than a material one; it involved also religious advantages. Partly through impoverishment, and partly, it would seem, through violent exclusion, the true representatives of Jehovah were sometimes excluded from the Temple services (Ps. xlii.; xliii.; lvi. 8, 12 f.; cf. xxvii. 3 ff.; lv. 6 ff., 13–18). (6) But the religious life generally being bound up with access to religious services, local or central, the right to such spiritual privileges is an inalienable prerogative of true followers of Jehovah, to be rightly withdrawn from their persecutors and the ungodly generally (Ps. i. 5; v. 4–7; xv.; xxii. 25 f.; xxiv. 3–6; xxvi. 4 ff.; xxviii. 2 ff.; xxxi. 19 f.; lii. 6–8; Prov. xv. 9; xxi. 27; Isa. xxxiii. 15–17).

§ 602. The above citations may suffice to set forth the position of the "poor" and "righteous" in society, and

their attitude, theoretical and practical, towards the religious and moral issues of their country and time. Here we stand within the threshold of that arena upon which the first great decisive contest was waged, upon eternal principles, for humanity, justice, and freedom. The urgent practical problem was, how to live under the social system of the Hebrew monarchy, and retain that for which life was worth the living. This was to the true Hebrew, (1) the possession of his patrimony; (2) the conservation of his family and family rights; (3) his religious privileges. All of these were, as we have seen, impaired by the oppressiveness and godlessness of the leaders of the community. It is now plain enough how the material interests of life were inseparably interwoven with the interests of the kingdom of Jehovah. It was this that made the issue eternal. It was Jehovah's rights that were being infringed, and his claims that were being denied, when wrong was committed against any of his true worshippers. When they were deprived of their property, it was He who was defrauded of his proprietorship. When the poor were mulcted and pillaged by judicial process or arbitrary encroachment, it was his words that were outraged and his guardianship that was assailed (Ps. xii. 5). When they were hindered in the performance of those religious rites which made up so much of common life, it was his true worship that was contemned. When the purity of Jehovah's service was marred, either in form or spirit, either in local shrines or in the central sanctuary, it was his true followers that were repelled and their consciences that were wronged.

§ 603. We can now, perhaps, somewhat better appreciate the yearnings of prophets and psalmists for a reign of justice and freedom. Such aspirations assumed a characteristically Hebrew form and expression. So deep and certain was their consciousness of the divine righteousness, and the persuasion of its vindication and of its triumph over injustice and impiety, that these became

fixed articles of faith and the watchwords of the party of Jehovah. Intermediate stages and auxiliary movements were ignored. The intensely realistic imagination of the poet and the seer brought the new era at once within the range of sight (§ 13). The long and weary night-watches had not blenched the steady gaze of faith; it only made the eye quicker and keener to discern amid the thickening gloom the signs of the coming of the "Sun of Righteousness." Naturally the restorer of Israel must be a king. For the king is all in all. A good elder, judge, counsellor, or minister of state might reform his own smaller or larger jurisdiction. But the king is historically (§ 36, 49 ff.) and potentially (§ 534 ff.) elder, counsellor, and judge in one. He alone could reform the state throughout. He would indeed defend the nation from the dreaded Assyrian and give peace to the people (Mic. v. 5). And so he would be a godlike hero and a prince of peace. But when he should take the government upon his shoulders, he would uphold the kingdom with justice and righteousness; and so he would be "a wonder of a counsellor and an everlasting father" (§ 430) to his people (Isa. ix. 6 f.; cf. xxxii. 1 f.).

§ 604. The cry of the afflicted and the oppressed had long been uttered in vain. At the best, the most worthy judges only heard the cases that came before them. For the great multitude for whom no man cared there was no advocate, no daysman. This was the burden of the prophetic complaint and appeal: "Inquire into justice, set right the cruel, do justice to the fatherless, take up the cause of the widow" (Isa. i. 17). The expected Ruler, as king and judge in one, was to fulfil this ideal (Ps. lxxii. 4, 12, ff.):

> "He shall judge the afflicted of the people;
> He shall save the children of the needy;
> And shall crush the oppressor.
> He shall deliver the needy crying for help,
> And the afflicted when he has no helper.
> He shall have pity upon the poor and needy;

And the souls of the needy he shall save.
Against fraud and wrong he shall champion their life,[1]
And precious shall their blood be in his eyes."

Thus the Messianic hope, the anticipation of the "king who shall reign by righteousness," was not merely cherished as a stay and bulwark against the shock of war and the impending invasion of the Assyrians (Mic. v.; Isa. vii. f.). It was an image evoked by mingled despair and trust, by baffled and yet irrepressible faith, of One who should right all social and civic wrongs, and bring Israel to its own again. Under him "Judah and Israel should dwell safely, each one under his own vine and his own fig-tree, none making them afraid" (1 K. iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4), enjoying the labour of his hands amid peace, order, goodwill, and plenty.

§ 605. It will be proper at this point to anticipate the conclusions of our review of the literature of Israel, by a remark as to the period of Psalm composition. There is no need of going into the vexed questions that belong rather to special treatises. It is, however, most pertinent to our present discussion to say a word upon that division of the literature to which we have been so much indebted for illustration. The main consideration is that the dominant note of the Psalms is one of stress and conflict. So is it perhaps with the deepest and most moving religious poems in any age or nation. They are no nursery plants; they are the growth of a soil watered with blood and tears. So was it above all with the hymns of the ancient Hebrews. It was at midnight, and in the prison-house, that the faithful of Israel, like the apostles of the early Church, "prayed and sang hymns unto God" (Acts xvi. 25). We have seen how an understanding of the social question furnishes the key to the interpretation of many of the Psalms. It is manifest from the large place which is taken in the collection by the Psalms which we have been considering

[1] "He shall be the 'Goel' of their soul"; cf. § 426.

— those whose theme is abuse of justice, the crimes of the rich, and kindred modes of wrong-doing — that such social iniquities and misfortunes must have characterized a lengthy portion of the history of Israel.

§ 606. We naturally look for confirmation to the historical, and especially (§ 14) to the prophetical books. We find there indeed that the evil was chronic, that no age was free from its blight and curse. But there is a difference. There is a fairly well defined period in which the sufferings of *individuals* are brought specially into prominence. Roughly speaking, the time thus indicated is what we may call the middle period of the monarchy. In the histories it is introduced by the judicial spoliation and murder of Naboth (§ 239); in the prophecies by the denunciations of Amos. The cycle begins with Amos and runs through Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. Before this era the evils were gross enough. But in the semi-tribal condition of the people there was less scope for intrigue and rapacity in high places. After the period in question, international entanglements brought more fully into view the struggle for national existence in the surviving kingdom of Judah. Social and internal evils are still rife, but they do not take the leading place. They are, moreover, dealt with less as sins in themselves than as causes of the collapse of society and the state, or, after the Exile, as imperilling the reconstruction of the community (Neh. v. 9). Now look at the Psalms once more. Speaking again roughly, we find that most of those above reviewed belong to the two earlier books. The last three books have just that national or general character which has been here attributed to the later prophecies. There is not in them so much of the personal conflict, not so much of the consciousness of individual wrongs. In the earlier books, Ps. xliv.–xlviii. are marked by a wider outlook; but their exceptional character is strikingly conspicuous. Now such Psalms as we have been examining are confessedly the most original and, as we may say, the most characteristic

of the whole collection. To think of them as having been written objectively, and from a purely literary impulse, is to postulate for them no adequate motive. We must regard them as being just as much the outgrowth and effluence of their time as are the corresponding prophetic outbursts. That is to say, they must as a whole belong to the same age, the golden days of Prophecy, the period reaching from Elijah to Micah, from the time of the complete realization of monarchical ideas until the era of the Assyrian domination.

§ 607. We must not overlook the intimate connection of the present question with that of the development of the religious life. After what has been said it is superfluous to point out the religious aspects of the social struggle in Israel. It is not too much to say that this conflict, intense, uninterrupted, and prolonged, is the very heart of the religion of the Old Testament, its most regenerative and propulsive movement. To the personal life of the soul, the only basis of a potential world-moving religion, it gave energy and depth, assurance and hopefulness, repose and self-control, with an outlook clear and eternal. Its vitalizing sustaining principle of faith in the "name" and the "faithfulness," or the character and consistency of Jehovah, was at once the quickening sap of the tree of life and its richest flower and fruit. Baffled and thrown back in the struggle for justice, the party of Jehovah and righteousness clung all the more tenaciously to the earlier beliefs and experiences — always inward and practical, never theoretical or rationalizing — of their God's protection of his followers, and made them the controlling and impulsive forces of their lives. Let us try to realize their situation. We shall thus get to the radiating centre of the light and power that came to the moral heroes of the Old Testament,[1] and through them to all the tried and strenuous souls of succeeding generations.

[1] It is at the conclusion of one of these Psalms (xlii.–xliii.) that the poet, persecuted and exiled from his home and Jehovah's land and sanctuary (§ 601), prays that Jehovah might send his light and truth to guide

§ 608. The spiritual sense was quickened and deepened because there was little in the state of Israel social and political to invite active interest or to inspire with hope and courage. The great proportion of the toiling masses were absolutely cut off from the life of the community. Among them there was no wholesome discontent that could make itself felt among the governing classes, or that might ensure progress in spite of official evils by gradually effecting a change in public opinion. They were compelled to fall back upon their spiritual franchise, upon their citizenship in the kingdom of God, and their membership in his household (§ 407). There was no personal intercourse between the governing and governed classes. The magnates did not know how the common men lived, except as to their ability to pay usury or taxes, or to hold on to their coveted patrimony. There was no reciprocal service in the state to evoke mutual confidence and helpfulness. Hence the struggling and the despised formed a community of their own (Ps. xiv. 4, 5 f.; lxxiii. 15), which became more exclusive than even the opulent and fashionable circles of the capital.

§ 609. But still more was religious life intensified and nourished by the direct pressure of personal trial. The hardships of their lot had, to be sure, the effect of embittering the sufferers against their prosperous oppressors; but it strengthened also their faith and trust in God (Ps. xxxvii.). Enduring, as they often had to do, want and privation in the midst of plenty and luxury, they found all the more satisfaction in appeasing the hunger and quenching the thirst of the soul (Ps. xlii. 1; lxiii. 1, 5). Sincerely and rightly persuaded that the grasping and cruel grandees were wicked and godless (§ 598), they were encouraged all the more to cultivate piety and the fear of God. Uncompromising as they were in resenting their wrongs, they were yet poor in spirit towards God.

him back to the tabernacle of God, "the gladness of his joy." This passage contains the essence of the Hebrew religion.

Debarred as they were from the pompous sacrifices in the national sanctuaries, which were offered by the rich for the propitiation of the offended and alienated Jehovah, and even, as it would seem (§ 601), excluded sometimes from access to the sanctuary, they learned all the more readily to offer the more pleasing sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. The vexing problems of their existence and of the contradictions of their lot drove them to self-examination and the discovery of their own sinfulness. So habitual and so trying was their experience of trouble at the hands of the "wicked," that scarcely a psalm of the personal life is devoid of allusion to it. And yet, on the other hand, confession and penitence seem impossible to them without their bringing their own sinfulness into connection with the wickedness of their adversaries (see, *e.g.*, Ps. xxxviii. 4 ff.; 12 ff.; xxxix. 6 ff.; xl. 12 ff.). Thus we find ourselves here in the atmosphere and environment in which the religious life received its richest and most energizing development.[1]

§ 610. A word or two in conclusion as to the bonds which unite our modern social and moral ideals and problems with those of ancient Israel. I do not refer to the practical lessons which we learn from the use made of the Old Testament in devotional reading or edifying discourse. Nor have I in mind altogether the applications which are or may be made of Old Testament principles to the conditions and problems of civic government and social reform. The value of such deference to the Hebrew writings is much more talked of than verified or appreciated. It would probably become more of a reality if the

[1] We may remark, by the way, that we have here also a key to many of the difficulties of the Psalms. The remarkable judgments passed upon the "rich," for example, and the predicates applied to them, have been noticed above (§ 598). Of more subjective value to us, perhaps, is the explanation, now available, of the juxtaposition of expressions of deep devotion and the bitterest animosity (*e.g.* Ps. xxxvi.; cxxxix.), and of the psychological and spiritual phenomena of the "vindictive Psalms" generally.

historical character of the Biblical teaching were more intelligently apprehended. Certain leading considerations must be kept in view. (1) A large portion of the civil code of the Pentateuch was proleptic and disciplinary, and, as far as we know, never carried into judicial effect (§ 586). Just how much was actually in practice is difficult to ascertain, and may be best inferred from the historical and prophetical books. (2) Nevertheless the most wholesome provisions of the "Law" are the reflex of sentiments and convictions cherished in the inmost heart of Israel, evoked from and wrought out in the stress and conflict of national life. (3) In the same way the moral canons laid down by the Prophets were the expression of ideals to which the majority of the nation never practically attained. (4) The special legislation of the Hebrews not only corresponded to the moral advancement of the best portion of the nation, but was accurately adjusted to its needs. (5) The political and social collapse of Israel was due not so much to the admitted inadequacy of its political institutions as to the failure on the part of the leaders of the people to act according to their best lights. (6) The products of Hebrew thought and wisdom best worth preserving for the uses of the world are not the incidental and temporary enactments of the "Law," but the eternal principles of the "prophetical" literature, whether found in the histories, the prophecies, or the poetical books. (7) The duty of our modern statesmen and social reformers towards the sociological and moral teaching of the Old Testament is to study its special "legislation" mainly in as far as it illustrates the dominant and moving principles that inspired it, and to make these principles, as they are amply illustrated and unfolded in Hebrew history and literature, controlling and guiding forces in their own public life and action.[1] They cannot do better than to defer to the

[1] I may refer to a special instance. Interest has often been and still is stirred up in behalf of the system of land tenure in Israel, as a possible norm or guide for modern special legislation. Such a use of what may be

patriot prophet and "inquire after the old paths" (Jer. vi. 16).

§ 611. Finally, we may inquire as to the place of the Old Testament sociological and moral teaching in the evolution of human society. Only one aspect of the matter can here be touched upon. Whether the Hebrew literature and society have contributed anything of permanent value to the higher and controlling thought and sentiment of the race, and if so, what it is and what is its value, are questions which are open to a very simple test. We ask: what is now the most precious moral possession of the race? what is the great saving moral and social principle of the world of men at the end of this nineteenth century of the Christian era? And further: in what nation or society in the olden time was this surviving principle asserted as cardinal and vital, and placed on enduring

learned about the question is neither wise nor desirable. But a study of the provisions that grew out of the fundamental postulate that Jehovah was the ultimate owner of the land, with their regard for the *rights* of tenants, of the poor, and the stranger (548 ff., 576 ff.), is in the highest degree instructive and liberalizing. I may venture a word more. It may be that the Old Testament is neglected by modern reformers not merely because it is imperfectly understood, or because its standard of public conduct seems impracticably lofty, but also because it does not offer any specific remedies for existing ills or practical suggestions for reform generally. They therefore virtually dispense with it. A traveller groping his way through the forest might as well dispense with the daylight, by whose help alone he can find his bearings. It is remarkable, and not very creditable to the thinkers and critics of the day, that elaborate attempts to grapple with tremendous social problems are dealt with mostly from the point of view of feasibility alone, apart from the wholesome moral inspiration which most of them afford. A notable instance is Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, which has been the butt of numberless able reviewers, large and small, who contemptuously dismiss it from consideration because its scheme of social reorganization is impracticable. They ignore, or perhaps fail to perceive, that what has really "carried" the book, and given it an epoch-making significance, is its recognition of social defects and its sympathy with the victims of organized oppression and selfishness. In this, it and kindred works are an echo of, or rather a response to, the voices that proclaimed "mercy and justice" as the essence of the old-time religion of Jehovah.

record? Probably it will be agreed that the sense of justice and the impulse of mercy form in their just combination the strongest influence for good, the chief regenerative force, in any modern community. Moreover, it has been found by long experience that the first sentiment cannot flourish without the second. This has been proved by the awful tragedy which reconciled the divine government with human redemption, by the practical relaxation of stern religious creeds, and by the costly experiments of barbaric and semi-barbaric legislation. The crowning resultant we call *altruism*, or the humanitarian spirit. And we are wont to count it a modern or rather a contemporary achievement. For it comes upon us with the freshness and energy of youth, and the inward exultation of a novel moral excitement. And in truth it must be something new to the great world; for it has not become fashionable or even tolerable beyond the narrow limits of social relationship. Its application to political life or even the commoner processes of commercial and business dealing is scarcely dreamed of except by a few unpopular enthusiasts.

§ 612. And yet altruism is not new. It was and is a product of the Old Testament religion. The humanitarian spirit was no symptom of a transient sentiment, no "fad" of a clique or set. That which gives character and immortality to a national literature must have had a strong, wide, and steady development. Our review of the history and the concomitant literary monuments has not yet brought us to its fullest development and articulate expression. But of its germinal beginnings and its rich promise we have already had more than a glimpse. Its persistence and expansion to the present hour may be historically traced. There is no better or more useful task for the social evolutionist. Let him begin by studying "prophetism" in its manifold representation in all departments of the Hebrew literature. He will have accomplished the next great step when he has learned how

Jesus could say that He came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets. Then already he will have traversed the most decisive stages in the long and winding, but certain and invincible, progress of the altruistic idea. Our present task is the humbler one of showing that it is contained implicitly in the teachings of the religious and social reformers of the monarchical times of Israel, and that it was nurtured and promoted by the internal movements of ancient Hebrew society. One illustration may be cited of the potentiality and truly "prophetic" character of that teaching and those movements; and it is taken, not from the later, but from the earlier days of the prophetic epoch, in the middle of the ninth century B.C. It is related (2 K. vi. 20 ff.) that certain troopers of Damascus, during the terrible hereditary wars between that country and Northern Israel, found themselves on one occasion unexpectedly made prisoners in the city of Samaria, through the agency of the prophet Elisha; "And the king of Israel said to Elisha, when he saw them, My father, shall I slay? shall I slay them? and he answered, Thou shalt not slay them; wouldst thou slay those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and thy bow? Set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their own master. And he prepared for them a bountiful repast; and when they had eaten and drank, he sent them away, and they went to their own master." We hear nothing of an exchange of prisoners, or of holding them for ransom. But naturally enough it is added: "And the raiders of Damascus did not continue to come into the land of Israel."

§ 613. Some of the features of this moral and social evolution may be briefly summarized. (1) Moral issues in Israel distinguished it from all other communities, ancient or modern, as regards its relative *place* in the evolution of society. In Israel they come early to the front. Other communities, with a long history behind them, are just now learning that it "pays" to be just and humane.

(2) Recognizing the validity of the evolutionary law of the struggle for existence, we notice that the decisive conflict in Israel was of a different *kind* from that waged in any other society. Others were fighting communities. "States are cradled and nurtured in continuous war, and grow up by a kind of natural selection, having wrested or subordinated their competitors in the long-drawn-out rivalry through which they survive."[1] And hardly differing in kind, but rather in degree of barbarity, is the commercial war by which, as a rule, civilized nations have been endeavouring to starve and cripple one another beyond recovery. In Israel, also, were greed and the lust of power. But though these controlled the outward forms of society, they were not the characteristic social forces which survived to tell the tale of Israel's struggle for humanity. (3) The cause of virtue and righteousness in Israel did not, as in Greece and Rome, occupy the thoughts of an exclusive set of philosophers, moralists, and rhetoricians. It was the persistent intellectual and moral pursuit, for centuries, of a distinct class of people in the community. (4) The moral and social problems of Israel were, for the most part, wrestled with and solved, and their solution put on everlasting record, by poor, obscure, and unfashionable people, in spite of the inveterate prejudice of themselves and their fellow-countrymen that prosperity was a mark of divine favour. (5) What has been not inaptly called "ethical monotheism" was asserted and vindicated, for their own time and forever, by the Prophets of Israel. And yet the belief or doctrine was not and could not have been a creation of the Prophets. These champions of the people simply brought to the front and immortalized the moral and religious issues which were involved, and which were felt by every true follower of Jehovah to be at stake, in the wrongs of civil misgovernment, judicial oppression, and social injustice. (6) The problems which occupied the Old Testament law-

[1] Kidd, *Social Evolution* (1894), p. 46.

makers and prophets are those which still press most urgently upon serious men. Deceit, selfishness, lust, with the innumerable forms of treachery, cruelty, and dishonour, which are their perennial offspring, are still active everywhere, openly as savage brutality, or disguised as hypocritical *finesse*. These issues have never been dealt with again in any literature or any national history as they were dealt with in the Old Testament and in the personal life of the ancient Hebrews. Hence the Old Testament cannot be dispensed with, in our time at least, either as a work of classical literature or as a manual of moral and sociological principles.

§ 614. I need hardly say that the position here taken with regard to the place and influence of the Old Testament among the forces that make for righteousness and mercy does no injustice to the New Testament revelation and teaching. But while recognizing the indispensable part played by both of these mighty agencies in the social regeneration of the race, it is equally necessary for us to see how they are related to and supplement one another. This is particularly expedient at the present time, when we are beginning to review the whole moral history of the world from a new standpoint, when we are trying not only to ascertain the movements and tendencies of past ages which have made the world actually and potentially what it now is, but also to measure their relative vitality and momentum. Moreover, it is now honestly fashionable to ignore the Old Testament as a factor in the uplifting of human thought and the energizing of human endeavour.[1]

[1] Mr. Kidd, in his *Social Evolution* (1894), p. 126, says truly enough that "we have in the religions beliefs of mankind apparently the characteristic feature of our social evolution." And we may not quarrel with his broad working generalization, that "an ultra-rational sanction for the sacrifice of the interests of the individual to those of the social organism has been a feature common to all religions" (*ibid.*). But we must demur to his beginning his outline sketch of the historic influence of the dominant religion of the world (p. 133 ff.) with "the new force which was born into the world with the Christian religion." The omission is made

Hardly any more convincing fact than this can be adduced to show that the scientific study of the Bible is as yet only in its initial stage.

§ 615. An estimate of what it would seem right to hold upon this vitally important question may be given very summarily as follows: (1) Both the Old Testament and the New have a twofold moral and sociological function for humanity. They contain, on the one hand, precepts, counsels, warnings, in short what we may call teaching. On the other hand, they present pictures of social life and conduct which either illustrate the teaching or point its moral. (2) As regards the teaching of these two collections of Hebrew literature, it may be affirmed that while the New Testament shows an advance upon the Old, the distinction between them is not that the former propounds an entirely new theory of life and morals. It rather illustrates the law of ethical progress under new forms of social life and under a new inspiration.[1] To maintain the contrary is to ignore the soil from which the New Testament sprang, its preparation in the minds of men educated as Hebrews of the time; and, above all, its adoption of the moral and sociological principles of the old Hebrew reformers. The ethical system of Christianity was never claimed by Jesus, or by his disciples of any age,

all the more glaring by the fact that the author, in speaking of the influence of Christianity, mentions "the nature of the ethical system associated with it" (p. 140 f.) as one of the characteristics "destined to render it an evolutionary force of the highest magnitude."

[1] A notable and widely read article by Goldwin Smith in the *North American Review* for December, 1895, entitled "Christianity's Millstone," is worth alluding to in this connection. It treats the Old Testament as if it were one book instead of being a collection of books, whose production reaches over many centuries and diversified moral and social conditions. It makes it out to be at once about the worst and at the same time the best production of antiquity. It employs arguments against the authority of the Old Testament equally valid against the New, which it holds up to us in contrast. Its cardinal and fatal defect is that it recognizes no law of evolution or of historical development in the composition of the Old Testament. Such an essay belongs genealogically to the earlier half of the present century.

as a new force, or a new idea, or a new revelation given to the world for the first time at the beginning of the Christian era. Jesus spoke with original authority, but he abrogated no whit of the universal and characteristic teaching of the Old Testament. The precepts of the Sermon on the Mount are to be found implicitly or explicitly in the Old Testament or in the best thought of the noble-minded teachers whose training was entirely pre-Christian, legal, and prophetical.

§ 616. (3) It therefore does injustice to the New Testament itself to cut it loose from its moral antecedents. This is a common habit even with thoughtful writers, who make a strong point of contrasting it with the dying pagan civilization which had just preceded.[1] This obvious antithesis brings out, indeed, most clearly the unique divine origin of Christianity. But it is of little value either for historical purposes or for the practical ends which are subserved by the intelligent contemplation of the unfolding in human lives of the divine idea of mercy, justice, and freedom. (4) What we may call the new life of the Christian morality was not a new creation, but, rather, a glorious resurrection. We lose immeasurably if we fail to trace it to its roots in the truths which were wrought out, as never before or since, with tears and blood, in the social and national struggles of ancient Israel. We need to study the intervening centuries. The polemic attitude necessarily maintained by Christ and his apostles towards

[1] As is done by Kidd, *Social Evolution*, p. 134. Lecky's classical and invaluable work, *History of European Morals*, is almost equally one-sided. It rarely couples Jews with Christians in their assertion of moral principle (see one fine instance, however, in vol. i, p. 405). It confounds legal and ceremonial Judaism with the resultant religion of the Old Testament. It is unjust to the Old Testament as a whole as to the position assigned by it to woman. It ignores in its sketch of the history of chastity (i, 103 ff. and elsewhere) the national example given to the world of that virtue by the ancient Hebrews — perhaps the most potent and valuable of all its moral gifts to later ages. On the last-named point, see the essay "The Education of the World," contributed by Dr. Frederick (afterwards Bishop) Temple to *Essays and Reviews* (1860).

Judaic Pharisaism has, with other influences, led to a popular notion that Hebrew society before their time was morally and spiritually dead. This is a misconception. Then, as before and since, the saving remnant never failed. We regard, and rightly, the Reformation as the renaissance of practical and social Christianity. Looking back over the "dark ages," we can see through all their years the torch of faith and purity, now flickering and faint, now blazing up in triumphant splendour, and never utterly extinguished. So was it with the stern heroic virtue[1] of the true Israel in the pre-Christian times. As the Reformation was to the Middle Ages, so in its way and measure was the Christian era to the "silent centuries."

§ 617. (5) As regards the social types and underlying moral forces of the Old Testament times and people, in comparison with those of the New, we must bear in mind that, in spite of all political and governmental revolutions, society in Palestine remained essentially unchanged. The ecclesiastical aristocracy only became wider, more complex, and more arrogant, with the loss of political autonomy. Especially must we remember that still as of old the champions and martyrs of justice, righteousness, and meekness were of the classes that counted for nothing in church or state. If Christ came to the poor and the despised in the days of his social life, it was because his spirit had always been with them. The early Christian Church was made up mainly of such elements as those which, according to the Hebrew Psalms, constituted the true community of Jehovah (§ 601). (6) The decisive advance was made by Jesus through his Word and his Person. He gave a death-wound to the old-world tyranny of caste and classes with their cruel prerogative. Ceremonial religion with its popular doctrine of salvation through ordinances involved the perpetual religious and social disqualification of the non-privileged orders. For this Jesus, by the force of his living word, substituted the idea of personal faith and indi-

[1] Read, for example, 2 Macc. vii.

vidual responsibility. To the credit of the Pharisees, be it said, the way was partly prepared for this saving evangel by their development of Judaism, which insisted on the individualistic instead of the national view of man's relation to God. As interpreters of the Old Testament they could not fail to make this application of the Prophets and the Psalms and the social provisions of the Law. But (cf. Matt. xxiii. 3) they could not as a body disentangle themselves from the old-time system of Church and State aristocracy, which tended to make every ruler, judge, elder, and teacher in Israel self-satisfied and exclusive, and therefore far from the kingdom of God.

§ 618. (7) The supreme innovation introduced by Jesus was the attracting and unifying power of his own divine-human Person. There were democrats before his time; — such was indeed every true prophet of ancient Israel. But what with them was an impracticable dream was proved by Him to be a possibility, and by his followers, through his inspiration, to be a glorious reality. In Him men recognized their moral Ideal to be their neighbour, friend, and brother. He who was higher than the highest made Himself as low as the lowest, and took upon Him the form of a slave. And so all races and classes found their meeting-place in Him. Since He is all and in all, there cannot be in Him Gentile or Jew, bondman or freeman. And by being lifted up on the Cross He has drawn all men unto him. Thus to the prophetic teaching, which was weak and ineffective against the cramping withering power of self-love, working through custom and tradition, there is superadded a *motive* which not only opens the eyes, but melts the heart. When Christ came into the most religious and moral community the world had ever known, it was easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. And ever since it has been perhaps true that not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. But all things are possible in the moral realm where Jesus is king.

At his touch the old social fabric was dissolved. He spoke the word, and a new structure began to rise on a broader and enduring foundation. And, behold, the prostrate pillars of the old shattered edifice have a part, and that a worthier one than before, in the reconstruction! The new society, after all, is a readjustment of the constituents of the old. The antithesis of the Old Testament community (§ 598, 601) is annulled: a new tribalism takes its place (§ 399). The tabernacle of God is with men; and here the rich and the poor meet together at last. But the condition of membership holds still as of old; for now the rich are those who have become poor that they might make others rich. A standing proof is here that the regeneration of society has begun. Jesus has made it possible for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. He has induced men born to wealth and power to regard these endowments not as rights, but as gifts, as conditions of "godlike hardship," self-imposed for the truth that makes men free, and for the love that makes them one.

§ 619. Our principal task has been not to trace the old in the new, nor in the old to find the new, but to test the old alone by its independent worth for the weal of human kind. Yet the larger survey is needed, however brief and imperfect. In making it, we must learn, like the Master himself, to look back upon the past in the light of the present. In the retrospect we cannot but recognize those saving moral principles which, newly informed and energized by him, are leavening and renewing the individual and the race. And so we assent to those words of his which forever bind the Christian ages to the heart and life of ancient Israel: "for this is the Law and the Prophets."

Book VIII

HEBREWS, EGYPTIANS, AND ASSYRIANS

CHAPTER I

ASSYRIAN EXPANSION UNDER SARGON

§ 620. The fall of Samaria (§ 352 ff.) was a propitious beginning for the reign of the new Assyrian king. Its surrender, however, had been assured under the auspices of his predecessor, and his easy triumph (§ 357) furnished of itself no indication of a genius for war and statesmanship which was to secure to Assyria for a round century undisputed pre-eminence among the nations of the earth, and to assimilate, if not to unify, the innumerable petty states of Western Asia. The deeds and policy of Sargon soon showed him to be the true successor of the great Tiglathpileser. In an empire like that of the Assyrians it was often necessary that military operations should be conducted upon a large scale simultaneously, or in quick succession, in regions the most remote from one another. The generalship of the king was most signally displayed in massing troops, at the right moment, at the points of extreme danger; in the rapid marching for which the Assyrian armies were pre-eminently distinguished; and in prompt and decisive action upon the field. His statesmanship was most severely taxed by the problems of repressing discontent among the individual principalities, and preventing dangerous combinations between them against their com-

mon suzerain. The comparatively abundant records of Sargon's reign enable us to trace fairly well the military and civil administration of the empire at this critical period in the development of the imperial idea among its first promoters. Nothing better illustrates the urgency of the tasks pressing upon the new king than the fact that his principal operations had to be transferred immediately from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Persian Gulf.

§ 621. It was indeed in this region that the most doubtful and momentous of Sargon's conflicts were waged. Attention has already (§ 223, 293, 340) been repeatedly called to the growing influence and political ambition of the Chaldæan principalities lying between Babylon and the sea. The most important of these had become vassals of Tiglathpileser III, and were, therefore, of right the tributaries of his successors. But one of the most ambitious of their rulers, Merodach-baladan by name (*Marduk-apil-iddin*, "Merodach has given a son"), who is familiar to us from Isa. xxxix., was not content with this humiliating position. Along with his patriotic desire to throw off the yoke of Assyria, he cherished a personal aspiration to become king of Babylon. He had (§ 340) sworn allegiance to Tiglathpileser in 731, and for ten years, or until the death of Shalmaneser, had apparently made no disturbance. But all the while he had been cultivating friendship with the neighbouring princes, most of whom were his fellow-subjects, and, what was of more consequence, with the powerful king of Elam. These friends being thus secured, he was able, upon the accession of Sargon, to convert them into active allies in his anti-Assyrian crusade.

§ 622. A striking parallel suggests itself between the relations to Assyria of the extreme southwest and those of the extreme southeast. Just as in the West-land, strife and insubordination were stirred up by Egypt against the all-devouring realm of Asshur, so in the eastern Sea-land the same part was played by Elam — a nation of equal

antiquity and with immemorial traditions of a dominion once extending as widely as that now claimed by Sargon (§ 106 ff.). Since the expulsion of the Elamites fifteen centuries before under the great Chammurabi (§ 117), they had taken very little part in the affairs of Babylonia, though at the beginning of the tenth century they gave a king to Babylon. Still less had they to do with Assyria. Yet now, when Assyrian conquest was approaching the Gulf and passing beyond the Tigris, they began to show themselves formidable opponents of the aggressors, and it was not till nearly a century after the accession of Sargon that they were finally subdued. Meanwhile they furnished aid and comfort to the struggling princes of Babylonia; and if the whole truth were known it would probably be found that with and without these allies they often proved to be a match for the northern invaders.

§ 623. The first movement of Merodach-baladan was to take possession of Babylon and make it his capital. He was there proclaimed king in Nisan of 721, three months exactly after the fall of Samaria, and precisely at the beginning of Sargon's official reign. As soon as it was possible, Sargon invaded Babylonia. He was met in battle by the ally of the Babylonians, *Ḫumbanigaš*, king of Elam; and, though he ascribes the victory to himself, it is plain from the impartial Babylonian chronicle that the battle was at least indecisive, and that the Assyrians were compelled to retreat from the country. The battle was fought without the presence of Merodach-baladan, but when he came to reinforce the Elamites, the allies were so strong that the southern portion of Assyria itself was overrun by them, and great losses were inflicted upon the inhabitants.[1] Indeed, it was not till eleven years after this that Sargon felt himself strong enough to venture another attempt to depose his rival from the throne of Babylon. That the allies did not pursue their advantage further is probably to be accounted for by the difficulties which Merodach-baladan had to con-

[1] See Note 2 in Appendix.

tend with in keeping in subjection the ruling classes in Babylon, which had for some time coveted the protection of Assyria (cf. § 339, 341). Sargon was sagacious enough to let the question of the Babylonian succession rest till he had settled the disturbed affairs of the rest of the empire.

§ 624. He was now immediately recalled to the extreme west, where the emissaries of Egypt had been plotting against his authority with a large measure of success. A combination was formed which it was hoped would unite all the principalities of the West-land. These were fewer and feebler than they had been before the conquests of the great Tiglathpileser. Damascus, now only the shadow of its former self, and the "Land of Omri," were under Assyrian administration, and Central and Northern Syria had been so industriously colonized that there would seem to be little hope of encouraging revolt. But the malcontents were numerous, and were easily persuaded that the new untried king of Assyria would have more than enough to attend to in the north and southeast. Hamath, which had suffered so severely in the closing days of Uzziah of Judah (§ 307), became now the centre of disturbance, and, under the lead of an adventurer apparently of Israelitish origin (as we may judge from his name, Ilūbi'id or Yahubi'id),[1] secured the alliance of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria (cf. § 364). The leader of this desperate undertaking took his stand at Karkar, the scene of the famous battle of 854 (§ 228 ff.), without his allies. Here the revolters were defeated, and Sargon, in whose eyes the defection of Hamath must have seemed especially flagrant, flayed Ilūbi'id alive as an exemplary punishment.

§ 625. Eager to strike at the fountain head of the trouble, the Assyrian king marched immediately down the Mediterranean coast. Reaching Gaza, he drove out Chanun, its kinglet, who again fled for refuge to Egypt, as he had fled from Tiglathpileser thirteen years before (§ 332). Seve (*Sib'u*), the prince of Lower Egypt, with

[1] Vol. i, p. 415. ZA. X, 222 ff. denies all connection with Yahwè.

whom Hoshea had intrigued (§ 343, 348), came to his relief. But these allies were in their turn defeated at Raphia (Assyrian *Rapiḫu*, the modern *Bīr-Refā*), southwest of Gaza, on the coast, and Seve retired to his safe retreat in the Delta; while Chanun was taken and carried captive to the city of Asshur. That his life was spared is certainly not without significance in the policy of Assyria. It will be noticed that the same leniency had been manifested to Hoshea (§ 350). Further, it would seem that Palestinian princes were very seldom put to death, even on account of rebellion (cf. § 644). The object apparently was to show to those who came directly under Egyptian influence, and therefore needed to be specially conciliated, that the yoke of Asshur was not galling. The treatment of Palestine was a matter of extreme difficulty to Assyrian diplomacy, and the mixture of rigour and gentleness which is manifested in the speech of Sinacherib's legate (2 K. xviii.) was typical of the whole policy. Sargon had no farther trouble from the side of Egypt during the reign of Sabako (§ 347 f.). As a matter of course Judah renewed its allegiance to Assyria during this visit of Sargon. The Palestinians had been severely crippled and were for a time thoroughly humbled. Samaria now remained permanently loyal. Nor do we hear of further trouble from the side of Damascus. Sabako was not strong enough at home to use Palestine as the base of active operations against Assyria, and he was compelled to cease his machinations. He died about 715, and was succeeded by his son Sabataka (715–703), who will come under our notice later (§ 630, 632).

§ 626. Meanwhile Sargon was called to action in the northerly portion of his hereditary sphere of influence. Here he was kept busy for the greater part of the next eight years, dissolving combinations, putting down insurrections, forming new provinces out of the fragments of subjugated districts; in a word, striving to unify and assimilate the whole vast domain that stretched from Cilicia to Media under a perpetual bond of common servi-

tude and a common worship. The story of his campaigns presented in his own annals is not very clear. Indeed, these northern wars are in general the least intelligible portion of Assyrian history, mainly on account of our lack of exact knowledge of some of the localities as well as our general unfamiliarity with the peoples of these regions, their antecedents and their types of civilization. One thing, at least, is plain which does not lie on the surface of the official Assyrian records: Sargon must have met with several serious reverses. Otherwise we cannot account for the quick recovery from disaster and the power of prolonged resistance manifested by the peoples whom the Great King assures us he so often subdued. As we are more directly concerned with those nations whose fortunes immediately affected the people of Israel and the progress of Revelation, it will not be in place to narrate minutely the campaigns of Sargon in the regions of the north. A brief résumé of the results is, however, indispensable.

§ 627. It will be observed that the main difficulties were encountered in two great regions, the country lying to the east of the Upper Tigris on the one hand, and those on the west of the Euphrates on the other. The intervening region seems, at this time, to have been kept pretty well in hand, and indeed the country north of Charran and Nisibis had occasioned very little trouble since the days of Asshurnāṣirpal (§ 218). Of the western lands, Mitā, king of the Moschi, was the insurrectionary leader. Of the eastern, Rusā, king of Ararat or Armenia, was the guiding spirit. With the former were drawn into sympathy all the discontented tribes as far south as Northern Syria, while the latter had for his allies the peoples on both sides of the Lakes as well as the western Medes. The task of dealing simultaneously with the insurgents scattered throughout these wide areas must have been divided with his generals by Sargon, who could not have been so ubiquitous as his annals taken literally would make us believe.

§ 628. In 719 a revolt, instigated by Rusā in the Assyrian province of Manna, south of Lake Van, and supported by a neighbouring prince, was put down by Sargon, and many of the insurgents transported to Damascus. In 718 the chief theatre of action was Tabal (Tibarene), where an outbreak was put down and the leaders sent to Assyria. In the following year a more widespread revolt was set on foot. Carchemish, which since its unsuccessful rising against Shalmaneser II (§ 227) had remained quiescent and had confirmed its allegiance to Tiglathpileser III after the capture of Arpad (§ 294), was now ruled by a prince of the ancient Hettite line, Pisiris by name. This ruler, perhaps in consequence of kinship with some of the Moschi, received assistance from that people in an attempt to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Defeat and deportation followed this enterprise also, while the Assyrian treasury at Kalach was enriched with an enormous booty taken from this wealthiest of the old merchant cities on the immemorial route of Asiatic trade. The Moschæan allies were not yet subdued.

§ 629. In the northeast a terrific struggle was waged in the two succeeding years. Rusā succeeded in effecting a much larger combination than before and in loosening the hold of the Assyrians upon most of the tribes from Lake Van to the Median settlements far to the east of Lake Urmia,[1] and southwards to the very borders of Assyria proper. In 715 the revolt had attained its widest dimensions, when the northwest was again also in a state of confusion. The enemies of Asshur were, however, routed one by one, and in 714 Rusā himself, bereft of ally after ally in successive defeats, and pursued by the intrepid warriors of Sargon to his inmost retreat in the mountains of Armenia, put an end to his life with his own dagger. But in the west the subjugation of Carchemish had not quenched the independent

[1] See Note 3 in Appendix.

spirit of the insurgents. New allies along with the Moschæans joined their ranks, encouraged by the doubtful issue of the conflict in Ararat. Considerable sections of the whole region from Cilicia (Ḳue) to the Euphrates were in arms in 715. Their complete subjugation was not accomplished till 711, when western Cappadocia (Gamgum) followed Tabal and Milid (Melitene) into forced submission.

§ 630. But even the details of these operations, extensive as they were, would not fully indicate the activity of Sargon at this critical period. At least for several years after the revolt of Carchemish (717) an Assyrian army was busily occupied in securing the allegiance of the more southerly tribes of the west, with those already made tributary by Tiglathpileser. For 715, the year of supreme effort, the record runs: "The tribes of Tamud and Ibādid, Marsiman and Ḫayāpa, far-off Arabians, inhabitants of the wilderness, of whom no sage or scholar had known, who had hitherto brought tribute to no king, I smote in the service of Asshur my lord; the rest of them I carried away and settled in Samaria. From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, Samsī, queen of Arabia (§ 334), and Ithamar of Sabæa, kings of the seacoast and of the wilderness, I received as their tribute, gold the product of the mines, precious stones, ivory, *ušu* plants, spices of all sorts, horses and camels."[1] From this instructive passage we learn that an army was sent south of Palestine, and that the caravan roads were once more secured for Assyria after the necessary chastisement and deportation of some of the fiercer Midianitish tribes. We observe further that the effect of the demonstration extended to Egypt, which now for the first time in its history, under the Ethiopian Pharaoh, Sabataka (vol. i, p. 423), acknowledged the superiority of Assyria, and even to the most powerful

[1] Annals, 94–99; cf. Cyl. 20. *Ḫayāpa* is the "Epha" (עיפה) of Gen. xxv. 4; Isa. lx. 6. See Par. 304, and for the other localities KGF. 263, and § 334 of this work.

mercantile nation of the Arabian peninsula. After completing the subjugation and settlement of the whole region west of the Euphrates, Sargon employed the year 712 in securing the richest treasures of the country, especially in precious metals and stones. So great was the abundance of silver thus amassed that he claims to have reduced its price to that of copper in Assyria.[1]

§ 631. In 711 we have to note the famous expedition to Ashdod, of which special account is taken not only by Hebrew Prophecy, but also by King Sargon himself. Besides other notices, he has left an inscription devoted solely to that enterprise.[2] These facts indicate the importance of the event, or rather of the circumstances which occasioned it. The revolt of a single canton was in itself of little consequence to a power like the Assyrian, but it became significant in this case because of what it implied. It was symptomatic of widespread discontent, of a possible explosion of the inflammable elements of Palestinian society, to which Egypt was eager to contribute the igniting spark. The danger was indeed great, or rather would become great, unless this insurrectionary movement were stifled at the beginning.

§ 632. The situation at Ashdod was this. Azuri, the former ruler of that city, had been deposed by the Assyrians (probably in 715) for refusing tribute and endeavouring to unite the other states of Palestine in revolt, and his more loyal brother Ahimiti was enthroned in his place. Subjection to foreign rule was, however, still unpopular, and a certain adventurer of Greek extraction succeeded in setting him aside and maintaining the antagonism to Assyria. A select body of veterans of the body-guard, with horses and chariots, was sent against Ashdod by Sargon. It reached that city before any successful combination could take place in Palestine, or any effectual aid could arrive from Egypt, whose promised support was in any case problematical. Ashdod, with a dependency

[1] Annals, 207 f. [2] ST. pl. 44.

named Asdudimmu, and the famous old Philistian city of Gath, which seems to have been at this time absorbed in Ashdod, were quickly taken. The Ionian usurper fled to Egypt, whence he was delivered up to the Assyrians by Sabataka, the king of that country, who, after his propitiation of Sargon (§ 630) and his renewed intrigues, must have dreaded an invasion of his territory by the victorious troops of that monarch. The captured cities lost many of their inhabitants by deportation; and these were replaced by exiles from other portions of the empire. Thus Philistia was formally made an Assyrian province.

§ 633. The other maritime principalities, as Sargon calls them, Judah, Edom, and Moab, were concerned in the conspiracy, in so far as they had negotiated with Egypt for an alliance in the projected revolt in concert with Ashdod.[1] But as there is no record, either in the Annals or in the synoptic Inscriptions, which give a full summary of Sargon's campaigns, that they had been engaged in actual armed rebellion or invaded by the expeditionary force, we may safely conclude that Sargon's lieutenant was satisfied with prompt submission on their part and the customary indemnity. Accordingly the hypothesis of an actual invasion and devastation of Judah by Sargon, which has been entertained by Cheyne, Sayce, and others, may be dismissed as untenable. It is not necessary, as we shall see (§ 687, 722), for the explanation of Isa. x., and inasmuch as such an invasion would necessarily have included the other principalities just mentioned, operations on so large a scale could not have escaped mention in the annals of the conqueror. Besides, we must remember that there is no evidence from any quarter that Judah or the kindred states of Edom and Moab were put under Assyrian administration or stripped of their inhabitants, as was the case with Ashdod. Sinacherib began to do this with Judah ten years later (§ 675 ff.), but that stage had not yet been reached, nor

[1] See Note 4 in Appendix.

had Judah merited such treatment by any conduct of which we have information (cf. § 288). On the other hand, the peace of the West must have been considered by Sargon to have been pretty well secured by the operations of 715. He knew that Palestine, though it was in a chronic state of discontent, was helpless without the support of Egypt, and being well aware of the weakness of the reigning king, he calculated rightly upon the sufficiency of a small body of chosen troops, under his lieutenant-general, to put an end to the trouble in Ashdod, and with that to the projected Palestinian rising. Then he felt that his hands were free to attend to the more serious difficulties in Babylonia. And yet we must assume that Judah at this time renewed its allegiance with payment of tribute, and had to submit to more rigorous terms than those imposed originally in consequence of the defensive league with Ahaz (§ 326, 336).[1]

[1] See Note 5 in Appendix.

CHAPTER II

JUDAH UNDER AHAZ AND THE ASSYRIAN POLICY

§ 634. The significance attached by the statesman-prophet, Isaiah, to the siege of Ashdod (Isa. xx.), suggests to us that this event marked a critical period in the international relations of Judah. It will, therefore, be necessary for us to review the history and prophecy of the times from the point last reached by our survey, the fall of Samaria, in 722–1. The revolt of Ashdod (711) exactly bisects the period between that catastrophe and the more famous invasion of Sinacherib (701). The first inquiry must be of a chronological character: Who reigned in Judah during the years we have just been traversing? Was it the weak-minded and idolatrous Ahaz or the enterprising and God-fearing Hezekiah? The importance of the answer need not be pointed out.

§ 635. We have seen (§ 269, 317) that Ahaz cannot have come to the throne later than 735. 2 K. xvi. 2 informs us that he reigned sixteen years. This would bring his reign to a close in 720. As to Hezekiah's accession we have two sets of dates. It is said in 2 K. xviii. 9 f. that Shalmaneser came against Samaria in the fourth year of Hezekiah, and that the city was taken in his sixth year (722–1). That would make the date of his accession 727. Again, 2 K. xviii. 13 states that Sinacherib invaded Judah in Hezekiah's fourteenth year. As that event is known to have occurred in 701, Hezekiah, according to this reckoning, must have acceded in 715. We thus have in reality three different dates, 727, 720, and

715. The first two might possibly be reconciled, if we chose to suppose that Hezekiah was associated with his father in the government seven years before the death of the latter, so that 720 would thus be eliminated. Only theoretical possibility can be claimed for this assumption, for which we have not the least evidence of any sort. And we have still this difficulty in connection with any of the dates (cf. vol. i, Note 12 in Appendix), that according to 2 K. xviii. 2, Hezekiah was twenty-five years of age at his accession, while his father, since he was twenty years old when he acceded (2 K. xvi. 2), must have been born about 755, only a few years before the birth of Hezekiah. It is alleged in favour of 715 that Isa. xxxviii., as well as 2 K. xx., seem to make the sickness of Hezekiah synchronous with the invasion of Sinacherib (701). Now, as Hezekiah lived fifteen years after his recovery, his death would then have taken place in 686, and his reign of twenty-nine years have begun in 715 or 714. If this is the correct or approximate date, Ahaz must have reigned twenty years instead of "sixteen."

§ 636. Is there any way out of this maze of contradictions? We naturally ask what sorts of data are the most to be deferred to? It will, I think, be admitted on all hands that the reported length of any reign, which was presumably a matter of record, is a much safer guide than a numerical synchronism connected with any given year of that reign, which was of course a matter of calculation. Again, of different sorts of synchronisms, that which connects two memorable events is evidently of more weight than one of the numerical kind just mentioned, which in the first place is based on abstract reckoning, and in the next place is liable to accidental clerical alteration through the absence of any obvious external check, such as that afforded in the other class of cases by popular acquaintance with epochs of history.

§ 637. Let us apply these canons to the question before us. What is, after all, the most probable date of the sick-

ness of Hezekiah? 2 K. xx. 1 and Isa. xxxviii. 1 connect that occurrence only vaguely with the invasion of Sinacherib, according to the common loose formula "in those days," which is about equivalent to "in those times." One thing, however, is clear: it took place *before* the invasion, according to the express testimony of 2 K. xx. 6 and Isa. xxxviii. 6. But there is another event associated immediately with Hezekiah's sickness, the embassy of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, of which it is said with an exact indication of time: "At that time Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, sent a letter and a present to King Hezekiah, for he had heard that Hezekiah had been sick." When did these negotiations take place? Not in 701, for then Merodach-baladan was no longer king of Babylon (§ 672), but most probably in 705, the year of the accession of the new king, Sinacherib, against whom the indomitable Chaldæan hoped to raise up a general combination after the death of the dreaded Sargon (cf. § 621).

§ 638. If, then, these fifteen years are to be counted from 705, we get 690 or 691 as the close of Hezekiah's reign, and 719 or 720 as its beginning. This agrees with the sixteen years of the reign of Ahaz, and should, I think, have the preference over either 727 or 715, especially as no correction is now needed for any of the Biblical figures, leaving out numerical synchronisms, except for the age of Hezekiah. If we suppose that "twenty-five," for the years of Hezekiah's age, is a clerical error for fifteen in the Hebrew, — a very slight and easy mistake, — all the conditions of the case are satisfied. The following is a scheme of the results:[1] —

	Date of accession.	Age at accession.	Length of reign.	Date of death.
Ahaz	c. 735	20	16	719
Hezekiah	719	15	29	690

§ 639. The reign of Ahaz was supremely critical for Judah, both politically and religiously. Uzziah and Jotham

[1] See Note 6 in Appendix.

had brought the little kingdom to a position of influence both in war and commerce, and had made their people acquainted with some of the wider movements of the great world outside the narrow horizon of Judaic politics. But the early years of Ahaz, which had beheld the great Tiglathpileser marching at his will over the length and breadth of Palestine, and had seen the Judaite king welcome him as his deliverer and own him as suzerain, witnessed also an inner transformation as significant as this outward revolution. The triumph of the irresistible Assyrians brought with it to Ahaz and to most of his people not only the evidence of invincible military power, but also tokens of the possession of singular supernatural favour. The acknowledgment of the superiority of the Assyrian gods, which this vassalage made obligatory (§ 61, 299), was commended alike to their interest, their prejudices, and their imagination. The deference due to the deities of their protectors could, in superstitious minds, be scarcely withheld from a religion of such immemorial sway and of such unrivalled prestige, in its triumphant progress among the nations and in the pomp and splendour of its observance. One can imagine the impression made upon Ahaz and his courtiers by what they observed at the great *durbar* at Damascus (§ 336): the submission of so many princes, the imperial haughtiness of the conqueror, and the shrines once dedicated to the terrible but now dethroned and impotent gods of Syria, here beset with images of the victorious deities supreme over all.

§ 640. That the weak and impressionable soul of the youthful Ahaz was deeply affected by these influences we have evidence from the Biblical narrative. We are told that the model of a certain altar which he had seen during his visit was, by his command, adopted for the regular temple services, to the exclusion of the old more simple brazen altar, whose place it took between the court and the sanctuary proper. Just as at first, when the Syrians began to gain the upper hand, he adored the gods which

seemed to give them the victory (2 Chr. xxviii. 23), so now the worship of their conquerors became in turn the object of his servile imitation, in as far as it was possible in a nation still owing outward allegiance to Jehovah.[1] It is easily understood that in such innovations he had the sympathy of the ruling class, when even a priest of the standing of Urijah (cf. Isa. viii. 2) carried out unhesitatingly his views with regard to the Temple usages. Other adaptations to the customs of the ruling nation were gradually introduced. While the possession of a sundial (2 K. xx. 9 ff.) simply evidenced a disposition to profit in practical matters from the scientific acquisitions of the Babylonians, the fitting up of an astrological observatory, with accompanying sacrificial altars, testified to the firm hold taken of Ahaz by the religious customs of the conquerors of the world (2 K. xxiii. 12).

§ 641. With this relaxing of the national bond of religious unity, effected by such a compromise and surrender of faith and worship, there came the inevitable acceleration of moral decline and corruption. Here again we have to take the Prophets of the period as our guides. Isaiah has left us one of his most vivid and powerful pictures of contemporary life and action in a prophecy describing the condition of Judah and Jerusalem after more than ten years' experience of the rule of Ahaz. The text of this matchless Old Testament sermon (Isa. xxviii.) was the impending fall of Samaria. Its bearing upon that city and kingdom we have already considered (§ 355). The discourse was wholly composed in the interest of the Prophet's own country; and so, after a glance of mingled sternness and pity at the beautiful city of the north, borne down to hopeless destruction in her godless frivolity and debauchery, he turns to his compatriots and upbraids them, in a tone of equal severity, for vices just such as those that brought ruin to Samaria. It was precisely this sin of uncontrolled self-indulgence,

[1] See Note 7 in Appendix.

especially in the form of inebriety (cf. § 596), which was now rampant in Jerusalem, and that to a degree incredible to those who fancy that "the drinking-customs of the present day" are a distinctive feature of modern life, and of western civilization. To such lengths had the unbridled license of the ruling classes been carried that the courts of justice and the ordinances of religion were vitiated by the habitual drunkenness of their ministers.

§ 642. The salvation and defence, the moral beauty and glory, of Judah, as of Samaria, came from the justice and righteousness of Jehovah of Hosts, and through his true worship and service. He himself would be a spirit of judgment to the guides of the people, and the saving strength of the forlorn hope that would be left to turn back the battle at the gate (xxviii. 5, 6). But what a deplorable contrast to this ideal was presented by the people of Jehovah, when their very prophets and priests and judges — that is, the great mass of the whole official body to which a simple, paternally governed, and theocratically instructed people looked perpetually for relief from burdens of civil oppression, or for redress from social tyranny, or for acquittal from ceremonial blame, or for direction in the manifold embarrassments of daily life — when even these were rendered incapable, by gross indulgence in strong drink, of fulfilling the ordinary duties of their office.

§ 643. There is evidently here a worse state of matters than that described by Isaiah at the opening of the reign of Ahaz (cf. § 323). Social injustice and class divisions and the luxury of the wealthy had now borne fruit in the almost total abandonment of public right and private morality (§ 592 ff.). The frivolity of an age of superstition (Isa. ii. 6) had now superadded to it the reckless impiety of a time when Jehovah was virtually, if not avowedly, dethroned in the minds of the court and the ruling classes, and when his Prophet was openly flouted as he delivered his simple and well-worn message of the fundamental laws

of his kingdom. The baneful influence of the Assyrian league, and its implied treason to Jehovah, is nowhere more instructively indicated than in the contempt with which these brutalized minions of the vassal king, "the men of scorn that rule this people which is in Jerusalem" (xxviii. 14), treat the utterances of the Prophet of the ancient covenant. They mock, in speech made thick and stammering with intoxication, the child-like plainness and simplicity of the precepts of righteousness on which he keeps insisting with unwearying iteration, and which they deride as goody-goody nursery rhymes (vs. 9, 10). At the same time they reveal their own folly and infatuation by trusting to the fancied security and prestige of the Assyrian alliance. And they ignore the moral and political teaching of the whole past history of Israel, which warns them that their worn-out and harassed country can have repose and recuperation only when it rests in Jehovah alone (v. 12).

§ 644. Micah, whose work falls mainly within the reign of Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 18) utters a more indignant, or at least a fiercer and more personal, outcry against the sins of the time and country. How prevalent and pernicious the debauchery of the people had become is revealed in the passionate declaration that their favourite prophet is one who utters falsehoods, pursues vanity and deceit, and prophesies to them of wine and strong drink (ii. 11). In his assaults upon the necromancers and diviners (iii. 7; v. 12) we may see a reference to the progress of Babylonian magic under the auspices of Ahaz and his astrological paraphernalia (§ 640). His bitterest phrases are employed to stigmatize the rapacious nobles, and especially the landed gentry, who "pluck the skin" off the poor peasants and day labourers, and "strip their flesh off their bones" by their exactions and unlawful expropriations (iii. 2 f.; ii. 2). Such flagrant acts of violence and fraud were not merely the outcome of the covetousness and dishonesty upbraided by Isaiah a few years

earlier (Isa. v. 7 f.), but are probably also to be partly attributed to the necessities of the land and property owners, who were responsible (§ 310) for the payment of the Assyrian imposts, now becoming yearly more oppressive. Micah thus supplements Isaiah in showing that the country outside of Jerusalem was being cursed by the miseries as well as the vices that were eating away the moral and spiritual life of the capital. He shows us also what was the political outlook of an intelligent and patriotic citizen of the western or Philistian border of Judah. As the two Prophets thus agree in their portraiture of the civil and religious condition of their common country, they still more strikingly coincide in their forecasts of its impending fate.[1]

§ 645. To both Isaiah and Micah it was a moral certainty that their country would be crushed almost to destruction by the power of Assyria. At the present stage (just before the fall of Samaria) the dangers that threatened Judah were seen more vividly and more in detail by Micah, because of his proximity to the Philistian plain. For this was the arena of international strife and the marching-road of the Assyrian hosts, a region also where Judaite suzerainty had recently been acknowledged and was doubtless still upheld (§ 268). Hence his grief over the anticipated surrender of the border towns, down to his own little Moresheth-Gath (i. 10–16). The bitterness of his lament is disguised in any translation by being expressed in accordance with the canons of Oriental literary style, which permitted unlimited playing on words in the most serious passages.

§ 646. Isaiah in the present prophecy is more general in his terms, but very explicit in his announcement of the peril. As was natural with this master of political ethics, the punishment is made to fit the crime: each moral offence is to be visited by its appropriate retribution. Where the frivolous debauchees who misruled the people

[1] See Note 8 in Appendix

of his kingdom. The baneful influence of the Assyrian league, and its implied treason to Jehovah, is nowhere more instructively indicated than in the contempt with which these brutalized minions of the vassal king, "the men of scorn that rule this people which is in Jerusalem" (xxviii. 14), treat the utterances of the Prophet of the ancient covenant. They mock, in speech made thick and stammering with intoxication, the child-like plainness and simplicity of the precepts of righteousness on which he keeps insisting with unwearying iteration, and which they deride as goody-goody nursery rhymes (vs. 9, 10). At the same time they reveal their own folly and infatuation by trusting to the fancied security and prestige of the Assyrian alliance. And they ignore the moral and political teaching of the whole past history of Israel, which warns them that their worn-out and harassed country can have repose and recuperation only when it rests in Jehovah alone (v. 12).

§ 644. Micah, whose work falls mainly within the reign of Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 18) utters a more indignant, or at least a fiercer and more personal, outcry against the sins of the time and country. How prevalent and pernicious the debauchery of the people had become is revealed in the passionate declaration that their favourite prophet is one who utters falsehoods, pursues vanity and deceit, and prophesies to them of wine and strong drink (ii. 11). In his assaults upon the necromancers and diviners (iii. 7; v. 12) we may see a reference to the progress of Babylonian magic under the auspices of Ahaz and his astrological paraphernalia (§ 640). His bitterest phrases are employed to stigmatize the rapacious nobles, and especially the landed gentry, who "pluck the skin" off the poor peasants and day labourers, and "strip their flesh off their bones" by their exactions and unlawful expropriations (iii. 2 f.; ii. 2). Such flagrant acts of violence and fraud were not merely the outcome of the covetousness and dishonesty upbraided by Isaiah a few years

earlier (Isa. v. 7 f.), but are probably also to be partly attributed to the necessities of the land and property owners, who were responsible (§ 310) for the payment of the Assyrian imposts, now becoming yearly more oppressive. Micah thus supplements Isaiah in showing that the country outside of Jerusalem was being cursed by the miseries as well as the vices that were eating away the moral and spiritual life of the capital. He shows us also what was the political outlook of an intelligent and patriotic citizen of the western or Philistian border of Judah. As the two Prophets thus agree in their portraiture of the civil and religious condition of their common country, they still more strikingly coincide in their forecasts of its impending fate.[1]

§ 645. To both Isaiah and Micah it was a moral certainty that their country would be crushed almost to destruction by the power of Assyria. At the present stage (just before the fall of Samaria) the dangers that threatened Judah were seen more vividly and more in detail by Micah, because of his proximity to the Philistian plain. For this was the arena of international strife and the marching-road of the Assyrian hosts, a region also where Judaite suzerainty had recently been acknowledged and was doubtless still upheld (§ 268). Hence his grief over the anticipated surrender of the border towns, down to his own little Moresheth-Gath (i. 10–16). The bitterness of his lament is disguised in any translation by being expressed in accordance with the canons of Oriental literary style, which permitted unlimited playing on words in the most serious passages.

§ 646. Isaiah in the present prophecy is more general in his terms, but very explicit in his announcement of the peril. As was natural with this master of political ethics, the punishment is made to fit the crime: each moral offence is to be visited by its appropriate retribution. Where the frivolous debauchees who misruled the people

[1] See Note 8 in Appendix

and made a hideous mockery of their judicial functions, caricature the Prophet's message in the stammering tones of babes and drunkards, he informs them that they shall be practically taught the moral validity of his precepts of righteousness; for Jehovah would speak to them through "the barbarous lips and strange language" of the Assyrians (xxviii. 11). When they reply, in words put into their mouths by the Prophet, that by their adroitness and cunning they have made even death and Sheol their allies, so that the threatened scourge of the Assyrian invasion of Palestine would not reach to them (v. 15), he rejoins by assuring them that there is but one foundation on which Jehovah's land and people can rest and be secure, "the stone that is laid in Zion, the tried stone, the costly corner stone of sure foundation." He adds that as the righteous Jehovah is their true stay and refuge, so the fortress of their present hopes, which is but a refuge of lies, shall be tried by the line of justice and the plummet of righteousness (cf. Amos vii. 7 ff.) and, when found false and unsure, shall be swept away by the hailstorm of judgment, so that the waters shall overflow their hiding-place (vs. 16 f.).

§ 647. Strange as such a catastrophe may seem, and foreign to the nature of the God of Israel in the popular conception, it will still most certainly be brought to pass, and that by the predetermined act of Jehovah, whose fixed purpose it is to chasten his whole land by repeated inroads of warriors on the march. So when this "overwhelming scourge" shall come in, none shall escape the terror or the ruin of the rushing tide of invasion (xxviii. 18, 19, 21, 22). In any case the present political and social relations are unnatural and galling — they are like a couch too short for rest, with a covering too scanty for shelter (v. 20). The God of Israel is a God of order, and the laws that regulate his earthly kingdom are as rational and at the same time as imperative as those which divinely guide the familiar operations of husbandry. To those laws his people and all peoples are amenable (vs. 23–29).

§ 648. At the date of the utterance of these drastic prophecies there was manifestly as yet no break with the Assyrian suzerain. Even of negotiation with Egypt on the part of Judah there is as yet no sign. A reference to it is commonly supposed to be made in Isa. xxviii. 15, 18 (the "covenant with death and agreement with Sheol"). But the language employed then is of an entirely general character, and relates to the notorious disregard of truth and honour on the part of the rulers and judges, and their defiance of the judgments so frequently threatened by the Prophets. If Ahaz was still on the throne at that date, as we suppose (§ 635 ff.) there was no likelihood of any rupture of the Assyrian league, galling as its exactions were doubtless becoming. The "slave and the son" of his Assyrian deliverer, and the servile imitator of Eastern customs in civil and religious life, was extremely unlikely to encourage or tolerate disloyalty. But very soon after the downfall of Samaria, and almost coincidently, as it would seem, with the chastisement inflicted on the same city in its league with Hamath and Gaza and Sib'e of Egypt, a new régime began in Judah, which was religiously and politically opposed to the Ninevite domination. It introduced at the same time the most important epoch in the history of the Southern Kingdom, the era of Hezekiah.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW POLICY UNDER HEZEKIAH

§ 649. Hezekiah ("My strength is Yahwè," 719–690) was the son of Ahaz, and the pupil, though not always the obedient disciple, of Isaiah. That he differed so much in temper and spirit from his father was largely due, without doubt, to the training of the great statesman-prophet, through which his natural piety and ideality were fostered, and a sentiment of devotion to Jehovah and true patriotism sedulously encouraged. He, at the same time, was of a somewhat weak, or, at least, pliant disposition, and more capable of lofty resolves than of heroic endeavour and steadfast endurance. The brilliant hopes which Isaiah had conceived of his youth were destined to grave abatement as the years went on, especially in the line of political action; and this is to be accounted for partly by his temper and habits and partly by the influence of faction. The events of his reign before 701 cannot be clearly traced, as the Biblical narrative is very meagre, and we are compelled to rely almost exclusively upon contemporary prophecies mostly undated, with the Assyrian notices of the period as a sort of historical and chronological framework.

§ 650. The accession of Hezekiah, who must have begun his reign while still a mere youth (§ 638), did not at first make any material change in the attitude of the nation towards the Assyrian over-lord. But the fateful crisis was not long in coming. We can distinguish four periods or stages in Judah's relations with Assyria in

Hezekiah's time: quiescence, intrigue, open disaffection, armed rebellion. Each of these stages requires illustration.

§ 651. The influence of the counsellors of Ahaz, which it was impossible to shake off at once, together with the recollection of the deliverance afforded by Assyria, secured for a time the maintenance of the *status quo ante*. But the counter-influences were strong, and their ultimate prevalence inevitable. The first great motive was the still unquenched national sentiment and the desire for independence. The re-establishment of good government was of itself sufficient to raise the spirit of the people, and this was speedily secured under the kindly auspices of the new régime. The reform in religion, begun immediately upon the accession of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 3 ff.), and carried out later more effectually under more favourable conditions, must of itself have for a time sobered and steadied the administration of justice. And the energetic measures adopted for putting the land in a state of defence, and renewing its hold upon the Philistian possessions (2 K. xviii. 8), must have renewed the patriotic spirit. So again the revival of industrial pursuits and public works, after the fashion of the times of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxxii. 27 ff.), tended to put heart into the people once more, humbled as they had been by vassalage, and impoverished by the drain of tribute-giving.

§ 652. We must also take account of the influence of the environment. Judah was but one of several small states in Palestine, and though favoured, or rather little injured by Assyria, it still had finally to cast in its lot with its neighbours and share the good or bad fortune of the harassed West-land. Among these communities sedition was rife, and intrigue with Assyria's chief rival kept up without intermission. There must have been, from the later years of Ahaz onward, an Egyptian party in Jerusalem, or at least some politicians who urged the advantages of an alliance on equal terms with a nation held to be as powerful as Assyria and more tolerant. This party

soon became prominent under Hezekiah, and proved a veritable thorn in the side of Isaiah, and the chief object of his rebuke and opposition. Under the combined operation of these various influences, the period of quiescence passed gradually into that of intrigue.

§ 653. That Judah took no part in the affairs of 720 and 715 is certain. But it is very probable that in the latter year (§ 630) its allegiance to Assyria, which had been renewed in 720 (§ 624), even if not regarded by Sargon as open to question, was somewhat precarious. Of overt opposition, or even withholding of tribute, there can have been none, else its consequences would have been mentioned in the full reports of Sargon. It is to be noted, moreover, that the whole country north, west, and south of Judah was in that busy year more firmly bound to Assyria. Egypt was cut off from the commerce of Arabia and the use of the latter territory as a basis of action in Asia. She found it even expedient to propitiate Sargon by gifts. Samaria was more thoroughly denationalized and secured against further revolt by the importation of Arabian captives. Finally, the restless Philistines found no opportunity of provoking an invasion. But the withdrawal of the troops of occupation through the necessities of the northern and eastern campaigns of Sargon was soon followed by a characteristically volcanic outbreak among the overstrained western nationalities, and four years later (§ 631 f.) a small special force had to be despatched to the coast to quell the disturbance at Ashdod.

§ 654. The comments of Isaiah upon this apparently trifling event reveal to us, by virtue of the illuminating function of Prophecy, the historical situation in Judah. They indicate clearly the headlong drift of sentiment towards an Egyptian alliance and the popular desire to escape at all hazards from the Assyrian incubus. The year 711 consequently finds Jerusalem on the eve of a surrender to Egyptian influence, or at least in the midst of compromising negotiations with the head of the Ethiopian dynasty.

As yet we do not see any sign of open revolt. Sargon, however, in his record of the same event (§ 632), accuses the Judaites, as does his great contemporary among themselves, of plotting with Egypt. The situation was thus continually becoming graver. The additional indemnity, or increase of tribute, which was undoubtedly enforced by Sargon as the penalty of disaffection (§ 633), made the Assyrian vassalage all the harder to bear, and hastened the inevitable revolt at the favourable moment.

§ 655. A considerable section of the book of Isaiah (ch. xviii.–xx.) has to do with this period of intrigue and disaffection, of which 711 is the critical year. The motive of these sections is the danger and wrong of Judah's alliance with Egypt. But their contents range widely, after the fashion of this imperial type of prophecy, among international issues and the interests of Jehovah's kingdom upon earth. Chapter xviii. is the earliest and therefore the most dispassionate. The Ethiopian monarchy in the land of the Pharaohs appears not so much an aggressor and intermeddler as an aspiring rival of Assyria. The revival of the old national spirit, with its ambitious aims of Asiatic dominion, prompts a divine oracle, which goes far beyond the designs or expected achievements of the new rulers of Egypt. An embassy, sent from the Ethiopian home-land, far up the Nile, to the states of Western Asia, has arrived at or near Jerusalem. Its purpose is to alarm the nations with the prospective terrors of Assyrian supremacy, and to secure their adhesion to a combination that will drive the eastern aggressors back across the Euphrates (xviii. 1, 2). Isaiah is commissioned to declare that the work of repelling the Assyrians is not assigned to the present or any dynasty of rulers in Egypt or Palestine, but is reserved to Jehovah himself. He watches from his throne in the heavens the movements and plottings of men and nations, and after his purposes have been subserved with Assyria, he will obliterate her suddenly and utterly (xviii. 3–6). The picturesque and dramatic imagery of the prophecy is the

vehicle of a message as profound and luminous as it is sublime. The matter in hand is taken at once out of the sphere of human politics and lifted into the realm of divine providence. The convulsions and revolutions of the whole following century, with the humiliation of Egypt and Syria, and the triumphs of Assyria, are all overseen. Yet they are unnoticed, except for their issue in the catastrophe that is to end the present drama, the ruin and desolation of Assyria itself. Egypt is nothing, Assyria is nothing, Judah itself is nothing, save for the truth and righteousness of Jehovah.

§ 656. Chapter xix. goes a step farther. In the preceding prophecy the work and fate of Egypt are simply ignored, in view of the grand *finale*. Here they form the chief subject. While throughout the Prophet's ministry Egypt was known as an intermeddler in Asia, a very demon of international strife, singularly enough this, her normal function, is unmentioned here. Her own misfortunes and misery excite interest by themselves alone. Yet the wider relation is not forgotten, rather it forms the unrecorded motive of the utterance. The futility and wrong of the Egyptian alliance were the chief burden upon the heart of the statesman Isaiah. In no one of his leading speeches, from the time of Ahaz onward, does it fail to appear. So here, in her evil influence, Egypt is regarded as the foe of the Holy People. The issue for which the prophet stands is thus a struggle between the true God and the "no-gods" of Egypt. In Chapter xviii. 4 Jehovah represents himself as sitting, unmoved and serene in his heavenly mansion, biding the ripening fate of Assyria. Here, in one of the episodes of the great action, He is presented as riding upon the swift-flying cloud, and descending upon Egypt, while the no-gods shiver before him in terror, and the hearts of the people melt for fear (v. 1). The main instrument used for the punishment of Egypt is her fierce and cruel rival Assyria, the same rod that was wielded in Jehovah's hand against her would-be ally Judah (v. 4).

But the conquest of the foreigner was to be facilitated by the anarchy and strife which should continue to vex Egypt, one petty kingdom or "nome" being incited against the other, so that all national spirit would be lost (vs. 2, 3). Then her productiveness of soil should fail, and her industries languish, through the neglect of the water-ways of commerce and irrigation, and of the fisheries, and the undermining and breaking-up of the pillars of government (vs. 5–10). Dismay should seize upon the counsellors and sages of Egypt, renowned as they were for their wisdom and resource. The princes of Zoan and Memphis, the bulwarks of the ancient empire, should, by foolish adventures, lead their people to ruin. Social order should be subverted; and in the desperation and bewilderment of all classes of the state, the whole body politic should, like one intoxicated, reel to its destruction (vs. 11–15; see § 768).

§ 657. But now, with a mighty bound of his eager imagination, the Prophet overleaps the time of confusion and misery, and from his favourite Messianic standpoint beholds the whole arena of the contending empires finally united in the acknowledgment and worship of Jehovah (vs. 16–25). Egypt itself, at first terrified and unmanned by the very mention of the God of Judah, because of his inexorable purpose to smite and destroy, shall be brought to own, not only his sovereignty, but his grace (vs. 16, 17). The five most renowned sacred cities, the seats of the ancient religion, with Heliopolis at their head, shall "speak the language of Canaan[1] and swear allegiance to Jehovah of Hosts" (v. 18). Even the forms of Jehovah's worship shall be introduced — altar and pillar, sacrifice and offering. In answer to their prayers a deliverer shall be sent to the Egyptians, and they shall be healed of the wounds of Jehovah's own smiting (vs. 19–22). To crown all, Israel, as the centre of the whole regenerated region,

[1] Notice the selection of what is at once the most effective instrument and the surest evidence of an assimilation of adjacent peoples — the use of a common language.

shall minister mediatorial blessings to the reconciled rivals on either side. "Israel shall be one of three with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth." And Palestine, the marching-road of their contending armies, shall become a highway of peaceful intercourse between Egypt and Assyria, and a common ground on which they shall meet to worship the God of Israel (vs. 23–25).

§ 658. These flights of prophetic prevision, so wide in their range and so indefinite in the historic conditions, both of their occasion and of their fulfilment, have as their practical counterfoil a very specific prophetic act in the following chapter. Egypt was not simply one of the actors in a great political drama, one of the factors in the scheme of divine providence, and a predestined member of the earthly kingdom of Jehovah. She was a dangerous and persistent power that needed to be reckoned with sharply and resolutely at the present juncture. The crisis of Egyptian influence was reached for Judah, as all our information shows us, at the time of the revolt of Ashdod (§ 653 f.). General warnings against trusting to Egypt had not availed to loosen the hold of her diplomacy or to dissolve the spell of her ancient prestige upon the susceptible minds of the hard-pressed Judaites. Clubs and cliques of Egyptian partisans were finding leaders, and Isaiah was meeting rivals to his influence over Hezekiah in the king's chief ministers. Judah now plots with other states of Palestine and with Egypt against Assyria, and is about to support Ashdod in the concerted revolt. If words have no avail to check the infatuation of the revolutionary party, it would be seen what effect can be exercised by a solemn outward symbolizing of the results of an Egyptian alliance. The Prophet is bidden, like a captive, to ungirdle his flowing outer robe and draw off his sandals, and thus stripped and barefooted to walk about in the public view three years "as a sign and a portent against Egypt and against Ethiopia: thus shall the king of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia, young

men and old men, stripped and barefoot" (xx. 1–4). "And they shall be dismayed and ashamed at Ethiopia their reliance, and at Egypt with her glamour over them. And the dwellers in these ruins shall say in that day: behold such is our reliance to which we fled for help that we might be rescued from the king of Assyria; and how shall we be saved?" (vs. 5, 6).

§ 659. This speaking symbolism was brought into play upon the imagination of the men of Judah for three years, beginning early in 711. Did it have any effect? Undoubtedly. It is very probable that it was to Isaiah's influence that Judah owed its escape from the folly of openly joining with the revolters at Ashdod, and its consequent immunity from annexation and devastation. Possibly, also, it was due to him that at least outward quietness prevailed in Palestine till the end of the reign of Sargon. The importance of his action may be inferred from the particularizing of time and circumstances; and we may well believe that the wearing of a captive's attire for three years by an aristocrat and patriot like Isaiah, was the last resort of appeal, remonstrance, and warning. And yet the consequences, however salutary for the time, were not permanent. We are devoid of historical notices from any source for the affairs of Judah for the next four or five years. But with the death of Sargon and the beginning of a new reign, we find the old conditions restored, and everything ready for a revolt in the West to be supported by Egypt.

CHAPTER IV

SARGON AND MERODACH-BALADAN

§ 660. Meanwhile, Sargon was busily occupied in the East. My readers will recall his earlier campaign which followed the accession or usurpation of Merodach-baladan in Babylon, and resulted in the evacuation of the country by the Assyrians (§ 621 ff.). For nearly twelve years (721–710) the Chaldæan maintained himself in the ancient capital, secure in alliance with the Elamites and in the friendship or fealty of the intervening Aramæan tribes. Yet he failed to secure what he had gained. The old established classes he never succeeded in conciliating, perhaps because he found it impossible to satisfy the multitude of hungry adventurers from the sea-land without large levies upon the property-holders, whom, in some cases, he actually expropriated. Moreover, the priestly families, who for a time favoured Assyrian protection as against the Chaldæan barbarians, continued to hold themselves aloof from him, in readiness to welcome the advent of Sargon, as they had formerly greeted the victorious Tiglathpileser (§ 339).

§ 661. The conduct of this, the most decisive and important of the wars of Sargon, indicates the progress he had made during eleven years in military skill and resource. In 721 the same foe was not nearly so strong or so well entrenched as he came to be after years of self-aggrandizement in Babylon, and yet Sargon then found it prudent to retire from the field after a short campaign. The Chaldæan, however, was now deprived of

one very great advantage which he formerly possessed — the active and prompt assistance of the Elamites, which was perhaps restrained by the superior force of the Assyrians. Sargon's plan of campaign is here more easily followed, on the whole, than in most other Assyrian wars. It embraced two main movements. Babylon itself was not directly approached. The main endeavour was on the one hand to crush the immediate source of the enemy's strength, namely the Chaldæan forces and the Aramæan auxiliaries, and on the other to render impossible the interference of the Elamites. Now, inasmuch as the most important Aramæan allies of Merodach-baladan had their camping-grounds along the Tigris directly between Babylonia and Elam, the occupation of their territory would at the same time erect a barrier against the Elamites. It was here, then, that the first blow was struck. The Gambulians between the Tigris and the lower reaches of the river Uknu (the modern Kercha), who had entrenched themselves in a strong fortress, were overwhelmed, and a great multitude of them taken prisoners. The other Aramæan tribes fled eastward over the Uknu and took refuge in Elamitic territory. Their domains were made a new Assyrian province, some border towns in Elam itself were also taken, and the king of Elam in terror fled to his native mountains.

§ 662. Meanwhile another force of Assyrians, with Sargon himself at their head, marched against the Chaldæan tribes. Bīt-dakkuri, not far to the southeast of Babylon itself, was made the base of operations. The intervening country submitted to Sargon, and Merodach-baladan, dreading a revolt in Babylon on the part of the leading citizens, resolved to escape from the twofold threatening danger. His first reliance was the king of Elam. If a junction could be effected with his people, the allies might make head against the Assyrians, as they had done in the campaign that secured his sovereignty over Babylonia. But the times, as well as the men, had

changed. Above all, the new king of Elam was no fighter, especially against odds. Besides, he was already a fugitive in the mountains. The Chaldæan leader betook himself to the Aramæan territory of Yatbur, east of the Tigris and north of the tribes already annexed to Assyria. Thence he sent to the Elamitic king. The mission was fruitless, and the helpless Merodach-baladan, seeing all hope cut off, was obliged to march southward to his hereditary domain with his small band of faithful Chaldæans.

§ 663. The fugitive king of Babylon was now reckoned as a usurper, and the inhabitants of the city, who seemed somewhat weary of Chaldæan domination, invited to their midst by a solemn deputation and gladly welcomed the great conqueror, who vowed to protect their estates from spoliation and their temples from desecration. The pious sacrifices were duly performed by the devout champion of the ancient cults and the guardian of their immemorial shrines. By further restoring neglected and decayed public works, especially the canal which united Borsippa and Babylon,[1] and by clearing the neighbourhood of predatory tribes whom the Chaldæan régime had tolerated and perhaps encouraged, he completely won over the hearts of the Babylonians. On the next New Year's day, the first of Nisan, he "clasped the hands of Bel and Nebo" (cf. § 341).

§ 664. Sargon would thus seem to have reached the goal of his ambition and the summit of his hopes. But Merodach-baladan was still alive and in armed possession of his native domains. The capital, Dūr-Yākin, he was able to fortify during the winter months, while Sargon was occupied in Babylon. There also he placed a garrison drawn from Ur, Erech, and other South Babylonian cities. His fortifications he made exceedingly strong, and he availed himself especially of that well-tried resource, — the readiest and surest to beleaguered Chaldæans, — the digging of moats and canals around the fortress. But all

[1] See Par., p. 192.

was of no avail against the overwhelming forces of Sargon, who succeeded in crossing the canals, defeated the Chaldæan troops under the walls, and in a short time thereafter gained possession of the city itself. Merodach-baladan contrived to escape to the inaccessible marshes at the mouth of the Rivers. (710 B.C.)

§ 665. Sargon had now unlimited opportunity to play on a grand scale the rôle of the pious *restaurator* and the benefactor of all his subjects, new and old. That the Chaldæan was a despoiler may be taken for granted, and the claim of Sargon that he restored to the people of Babylonia the lands which Merodach-baladan had confiscated and given to his barbarian allies is doubtless true enough. But to give implicit credence to his claim that he everywhere restored the worship of their own gods to the cities and temples that had been occupied and desecrated by the "usurper," is to yield too much. The very names of the Chaldæan rulers attest their own ancestral worship of Nebo and Merodach; and it is easier to believe that Merodach-baladan was an adventurer and a semi-barbarian, than that he was a persecutor or iconoclast.[1] Every defeated or dethroned monarch was among the ancient Semites a despiser of the gods and a subverter of their worship; and the successful rival knew well how, by liberal donations and zeal in building and decorating, to utilize the presumed favour of his celestial patrons. The bulletins issued by Merodach-baladan seven years later, when he again assumed the throne of Babylon, doubtless presented the devout Sargon in an equally unfavourable light.

§ 666. The work of conquest was completed by an act which patriotic Babylonians should have resented fully as much as their former subjection to their Chaldæan kindred. Cappadocians were now placed in Bit-Yākin and the surrounding country, whose inhabitants were in their turn deported to the forfeited homes of the new settlers. Eastern Cappadocia (Kummuch) had been stirred up by the

[1] His inscription of 714 B.C. (see KB. III, I, 184 ff.) is quite orthodox.

Armenians to revolt, but was overrun and finally converted into an Assyrian province about the time of the close of the Chaldæan war. The Moschæans (Muškē), who had not come into direct conflict with Assyria since the days of Tiglathpileser I (§ 179), but who had been now for years in active opposition (§ 627 ff.), were also subdued and wasted by the governor of Cilicia (Ḳue). An embassy bearing propitiatory gifts from this people on the north of the Taurus greeted Sargon upon the frontiers of Media. There also ambassadors were received from cities in distant Cyprus (where there has been found a monolith of Sargon with an inscription, now in the Berlin Museum), and from the island Dilmun in the Persian Gulf. The other and later military undertakings of Sargon and his generals are of a local character and of subordinate importance. He had now reached the goal which he had set to himself at the beginning of his career. The old boundaries of the empire were maintained or enlarged. Babylonia, Syria, and the northern regions from east to west were made secure. Egypt and Elam, on the extreme limits of his possessions, were rendered harmless as rivals or enemies. Never before in the history of his race, had conquest been made so sure and effective, or afforded such promise of permanence.

§ 667. Sargon could now devote himself without fear of serious interruption to the perpetuation of his fame by arts of peace. The greatest of his works was the founding of the city of Dūr-Šarrukīn (the modern Khorsabad) a few miles north of Nineveh, whose name was given to it in imitation of the city of Sargon I, situated in the same position relatively to Babylon. He had previously made, like his predecessors, his residence at Kalach (Nimrūd) where he had rebuilt the northwest palace of Asshurnāsirpal. In the new city he erected a magnificent palace which has remained, since its excavation and exploration by Botta (1843–4) and Place (1852), the most complete representation of Assyrian architecture which has been preserved to us.

§ 668. This appropriate home for the most powerful ruler and greatest benefactor whom Assyria had yet known was not long tenanted by a royal occupant. The inscriptions with which its halls were profusely sculptured were destined to inform posterity, rather than to remind their hero, of his achievements and virtues (cf. § 359). It was duly occupied in 706, and in the summer of the next year Sargon died by the hand of an assassin.

CHAPTER V

SINACHERIB AND MERODACH-BALADAN

§ 669. The assassin of Sargon seems to have been a common soldier, and this fact would suggest that he was the instrument of a more powerful intriguer. When we add to this the circumstance that his son and successor never mentions his name in his numerous inscriptions, there is possibly ground for the conjecture that he was the victim of an uprising instigated by the latter. On what ground any rival of Sargon could appeal to popular prejudice it is difficult to see, since he was undoubtedly one of the most beneficent of rulers to his immediate subjects. Possibly the conspiracy was confined to the new city of Sargon which he had populated, in what seems to us as a very impolitic fashion, with prisoners taken in "the four quarters of the world." It was on the twelfth of Ab (July–August), that Sinacherib ("Sin has increased the brothers," 705–681) ascended the throne. Sinacherib is the best known to moderns of all the kings of Assyria on account of his prominence in Biblical history. His traditional reputation, based on the Scripture story, is amply sustained by his own self-betraying inscriptions. He was boastful, arrogant, cruel, and revengeful to a degree uncommon even in Assyrian kings.

§ 670. Perhaps the most striking evidence of Sinacherib's unlikeness to his great predecessor is furnished by his attitude towards the Babylonian question and his treatment of the Babylonians. That country was the first to engage his attention. Sargon had trusted the enthusiastic

feeling manifested towards him at the time of his occupation in 709 (§ 663). With reverence for the ancient home of Semitic civilization, he refused the honour of being an actual resident king, and contented himself with representation through a vicegerent, who was, however, not to be an Assyrian vassal. His aim evidently had been to promote the permanent influence of the Babylonian temples and schools, and to utilize both of these time-honoured institutions for the development and *prestige* of his own proper country by extending to them his patronage and protection. Sinacherib, on the other hand, who had immediately quitted the "City of Sargon" (§ 667), perhaps on account of the unpleasant associations connected with his father's death, and fixed his residence in Nineveh, determined to make that city the religious and intellectual centre of the world, and belittled proportionally the fame and influence of Babylon.

§ 671. It must be confessed, however, that the affairs of Babylonia at his accession were not in such a condition as to naturally invite a very considerate or tolerant treatment. It soon appeared indeed that he would have to choose between letting Babylonia drift outside the sphere of Assyrian influence or setting things in order with a heavy hand. It was clear, at any rate, that the altogether exceptional and un-Assyrian régime of home-rule established by Sargon could not last. The first ruler of Babylonia after the accession of Sinacherib, of whom we know anything, was *Marduk-zākir-šum* ("Merodach announces the name"). We have the authority of Berossus for the statement that he put aside the brother of Sinacherib and made himself king. This was done in defiance of Sinacherib, who was of course the nominal king for the preceding two years (705–703), and in fact so appears in the Canon of Ptolemy. The adventurer's reign lasted, however, but one month, after which he was, in his turn, thrust out by no less a personage than the irrepressible Merodach-baladan himself (§ 621 ff., 637, 660 ff.), who, we may be sure, had been

scheming and intriguing all the preceding six years. Now seeing that his old kingdom was going so cheap, he thought it absurd that he should not be foremost among the pretenders.

§ 672. During his short reign he set about establishing himself in the old fashion by cementing alliances with the other Chaldæan princes, to whom he was a natural leader, and to many of whom he was hereditary over-lord; also with the Aramæan chiefs, and the king of Elam. He soon had sore need of their aid; for Sinacherib, nine months after the accession of the Chaldæan, descended upon the land, and meeting him with his allies, not far from Babylon, at a place called Kish, defeated him utterly. Merodach-baladan escaped this time also, though Assyrian troops spent five days in searching for him among the marshes, to which he had betaken himself.

§ 673. Sinacherib immediately occupied Babylon, where, apparently in confident reliance upon his recovered authority and his renewed alliance with the Elamites, Merodach-baladan had left all his treasure and the members of his household. These became the spoil of the conqueror, who further proceeded to make all the Chaldæan adherents throughout Babylonia feel that the Assyrians henceforth were to be undisputed masters. Cities to the number of seventy-five, in Chaldæa proper, with four hundred and twenty neighbouring villages, were taken and spoiled. The inhabitants of other cities, both in North and in South Babylonia, who had shown sympathy with the Chaldæan cause, including the capital itself, were taken away as prisoners. A like fate was shared by the Aramæan allies, the number of whose prisoners deported to Assyria was reckoned at two hundred and eight thousand, along with nearly a million of large and small cattle. Sinacherib now set a king over the Babylonians, *Bel-ibnī* by name (otherwise *Bel-ēpuš*), who had been brought up in his own palace "like a little pet dog," as the inscription phrases it.[1] Chal-

[1] Bellino Cylinder, line 13. See Note 9 in Appendix.

dæa was, we may assume, put in charge of a military administrator directly under the king of Assyria. As the malcontents were found in every corner of the land, the mock kingship at the capital, by the grace of Asshur, was intended merely as a compromise and makeshift till the time should come for the formal annexation of the whole country. Meanwhile the titular king, whoever he might be, was always treated as the creature of Sinacherib.

§ 674. Closely upon these undertakings, though whether immediately or not is uncertain, followed two successful expeditions, the one directed against the Kasshites, who had, as in the old times, been harassing the Babylonian border, and the other against Ellip, a neighbour and ally of Elam. In both cases hard measure was dealt out to the inhabitants. The Kasshites received an Assyrian resident viceroy. Many of them were constrained, by the burning of their tents and other drastic measures, to relinquish their nomadic mode of life and dwell in fixed habitations. The people of Ellip were still more harshly dealt with for their fidelity to Elam. They had to witness the desolation of their homes while they themselves were being dragged into captivity. In the Kasshite war, if his chronicler is to be trusted, the king showed marvellous enterprise and endurance, scaling on foot the almost impassable mountains, and leading the way to the hitherto inaccessible retreats of the savage mountaineers. On his return march from the invasion of Ellip, tribute was sent him from some of the remote districts of Media, of which he claims that the very name was unknown to his predecessors. These transactions taken together probably filled out the years 703 and 702.

CHAPTER VI

SINACHERIB, HEZEKIAH, AND ISAIAH

§ 675. The year 701 witnessed an enterprise of far greater importance — a march to the West-land followed by an ignominious retreat. I cannot do better than to present the reader at once with the Great King's own official account of the expedition. It is translated from his principal inscription, and follows directly upon the detailed report of the events last described above, which are assigned to his "second expedition." It reads as follows (Col. II, 34 ff.)[1]: In my third expedition I marched to the land of the Hettites. [35] Lulī, king of the city of Sidon — fear of the sheen [36] of my sovereignty overwhelmed him, and he fled to a remote place [37] in the midst of the sea, and I placed his land (under my yoke). [38] Great Sidon, Little Sidon, [39] Beth-Zīti, Sarepta, Maḫalliba, [40] Ušū, Akzibi (Ekdippa), Akko, [41] his strong cities, his fortresses, granaries, [42] reservoirs, and barracks — the might of the weapons [43] of Asshur my lord overwhelmed them and they submitted [44] at my feet. Tuba'al (Ithobal) on the throne of royalty [45] I set over them. Tribute and offerings of my suzerainty [46] yearly, without fail, I imposed upon him. [47] As to Menahem of Samsiruna, [48] Ithobal of Sidon, [49] Abdili'tu of Arvad, [50] Urumilku of Byblos, [51] Mitintī of Ashdod, [52] Pudu'il the Beth-Ammonite, [53] Chemosh-nadab the Moabite, [54] Melekrām the Edomite, [55] all the kings of the West-land, regions [56] wide-extended, their weighty offerings with (other) belongings

[1] In the "Taylor Cylinder," I R. 38, 34–39, 41.

[57] they brought before me and kissed my feet. [58] And Zedekia, king of Askalon, [59] who had not submitted to my yoke — his ancestral gods, himself, [60] his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, his kindred [61] I took away and deported to Assyria. [62] Šarludāri son of Rukibtu, their former king [63] I set over the people of Askalon: the rendering of tribute [64] and gifts of my sovereignty I imposed upon him, and so he became my vassal. [65] In the course of my expedition, Beth-Dagon, [66] Joppa, Banai-Barḳa, Azurn, [67] cities of Zedekia, which at my feet [68] had not promptly submitted, I besieged. I took, I carried off their spoil. [69] The lords, the nobles, and people of Ekron, [70] who Padī their king, against their covenants and oath [71] to Assyria, had cast into iron fetters, and to Hezekiah, [72] the Judaite had given him up with hostile intent (and he shut him up in a dungeon) — [73] their heart was afraid. The kings of Egypt, [74] and the archers, chariots, and horses of the king of Melūḫa, [75] a countless army, they invoked, and they came [76] to their relief. In view of Elteke [77] their battle array was set against me, and they made appeal to [78] their weapons. With the support of Asshur my lord, with them [79] I fought and accomplished their defeat. [80] The captain of the chariots and the sons of the Egyptian king [81] along with the captain of the chariots of the king of Melūḫa alive [82] my hands took in the thick of the battle. Elteke [83] and Timnath I besieged and took and carried off their spoil. (Col. III) [1] I drew near to Ekron, the lords [2] and the nobles who had committed sin I slew, and [3] on stakes round about the city I suspended their corpses. [4] The people of the city who had done crime and wickedness [5] I made captive. The rest of them [6] who had not practised sin and vileness and whose guilt [7] was not apparent, I declared acquitted. Padī [8] their king from the midst of Jerusalem [9] I brought forth, and upon the throne of dominion over them [10] I set, and the tribute of my suzerainty [11] I imposed upon him. And Hezekiah [12] the Judaite who had not submitted to my yoke — [13] 46 of his

fenced cities, and fortresses, and small towns [14] in their vicinity without number, [15] by breaking them down with battering-rams and the strokes of . . . [16] the assaults of the breach-stormers(?) and the blows of axes and hatchets, [17] I besieged and took. 200,150 persons, small and great, male and female, [18] horses, mules, asses, camels, large cattle, [19] small cattle, without number, I brought forth from the midst of them, [20] and allotted as spoil. As for himself like a caged bird in Jerusalem [21] his capital city, I shut him up. Forts against him [22] I constructed, and any who would go out of the city gate I caused [23] to turn back. His cities, which I had spoiled, from his land [24] I cut off; and to Mitintī king of Ashdod, [25] Padī king of Ekron, and Ṣil-Bel [26] king of Gaza I gave, and so curtailed his territory. [27] To the former tribute, their yearly contribution, [28] the gifts due to my sovereignty, I made an addition and [29] imposed it upon them. As for Hezekiah himself, [30] the fear of the lustre of my sovereignty overwhelmed him; and [31] the Arabs and his (other) devoted warriors, [32] whom to strengthen Jerusalem his capital city [33] he had introduced there, became seized with panic fear. [34] Together with 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver [35] . . . great stores of lapis-lazuli, [36] couches of ivory, arm chairs of ivory (covered) with elephant hide, [37] ivory tusks . . . wood . . . wood, and such like, an immense treasure, [38] his daughters, his palace-women, men-singers, [39] women-singers, to Nineveh my capital [40] I made him bring; and for the rendering of the tribute [41] and making homage, he sent his ambassador."

§ 676. So runs the report of the Great King. In order to understand it we must read it in the light of parallel accounts from other sources, and also bear in mind that the Assyrian official records, while correct in the main, are apt to exaggerate successes and to gloss over reverses, or omit entirely to mention them. In order to make a fair comparison with the Biblical story it is necessary to get from both sources a broad view of the whole international

situation. We must bear in mind that one report is written from the Assyrian imperial standpoint, and the other in the interests of a religious and political party in a single one of the many western states opposed to Assyria in this contest. From Egypt, moreover, the principal one of the western powers, we have nothing but an indirect traditional reference, while none of the other nations have left any monuments of the occurrence whatever. The Biblical account has to do with the fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem, and with these alone. It is not to be co-ordinated with the professedly complete Assyrian report, but is to be fitted into the plan of campaign which the latter indicates. In spite of the difficulties that arise, it is perhaps possible, when both sets of documents are rightly considered, to compile a harmonious and fairly exact history of the whole affair.

§ 677. The general situation in 701 was somewhat as follows. For the three or four years immediately preceding a general revolt had been preparing in Palestine. To bring this about was an easy matter on the accession of a new and untried king. There were also several distinct movers and motives that provoked it, and then sustained it to the point of resistance when the time for suppression came. Within the turbulent territory itself there were two main centres of agitation against Assyrian control. And outside of the Asiatic West-land there were two personages who took care that the seditious feeling was not allowed to slumber. The foregoing extract from the annals of Sinacherib shows clearly that the chief opponents of the Assyrians were Phœnicia and Judah, as the main points of attack were Tyre and Jerusalem. The position of the Philistian cities made their possession a matter of importance in itself; but their reduction was comparatively an easy matter and evidently quite incidental to the campaign against Judah. The other peoples of the West-land, — Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, — had no special interest in the business of insurrection. Hence without much delay they placated the invaders.

§ 678. Of the machinations of Egypt in Judah, and the eagerness of a powerful party in Jerusalem to accept its alliance, we are fully enough informed by the Hebrew authorities. The details of particular movements in Egypt itself are not known to us. The Assyrian reports agree in mentioning (see above, Col. II, 73 f.) "kings of Egypt and the king of Melūḫa" or the Sinaitic peninsula. There is manifest allusion here to a confederacy of local Egyptian kings. What was said in our first volume of the relations of the Ethiopian over-lord to the princes of the Delta (§ 347 f.) will explain the freedom of action enjoyed by the latter (cf. § 656). The tendencies were also pointed out which at last brought about a combination for the aggrandizement and defence of the empire as a whole. The fact that 2 K. xix. 9, Isa. xxxvii. 9, mention "Tirhakah king of Ethiopia" as the leader, simply shows that the domination exercised by the Ethiopian dynasty was now effective enough to control these northern princes and marshal their united forces for the relief of the Palestinian insurgents. It was in all probability this renewed consolidation of the Egyptian strength that gave the chief encouragement to the whole insurrectionary enterprise. *Tirhaḳah*, as the Hebrew records transcribe his name (Egypt. *Taharḳa*, Assyr. *Tarḳū*, Gr. Ταράκης, Τάρκος, etc.) was not the son of Sabataka (§ 630, 632), but a young noble of twenty who, by marriage with a member of the kingly house, gave some colour of right to his occupation of the throne on the death of that feeble prince about 704. The regent of the Sinaitic peninsula, who is naturally nameless in the Assyrian records, fought of course as the vassal of Tirhakah, his country being then an appendage of Egypt, as it very frequently was in ancient times (cf. § 134) and is at the present day.

§ 679. The other chief instigator of revolt was the indomitable Merodach-baladan, of whom we have already heard so much. In the only Biblical passages that refer to the great Chaldæan, his intervention in this affair is indi-

cated in the most suggestive manner. 2 K. xx. 12, Isa. xxxix. 1 (cf. 2 Chr. xxxii. 31), inform us that Merodach-baladan sent a letter and a present to Hezekiah in connection with his wonderful recovery from illness. The significance of such gifts, whose function in propitiating superiors, buying off invaders, and securing alliances, is illustrated not only by Biblical passages and by constant formulæ of the cuneiform inscriptions, but by the whole literature of Oriental history, and whose potency is attested by the aphoristic wisdom of Holy Writ (cf. § 594 f.), can here be read plainly between the lines of the story. The sketch already given (§ 621 ff., 661 ff., 671 ff.) of the adventures of the Chaldæan king of Babylon shows that in the year 704 he had the strongest inducements possible to create a combination against Sinacherib with all the states of the West. And it is more than a mere coincidence of dates that Tirhakah, as is generally supposed, came to the throne of Egypt about the same time. The whole situation makes it plain, then, that the movement for the overthrow of Assyrian domination had been under strong headway for two or three years by the time that the Assyrians came upon Palestine. This fact, and the general international relations as already detailed, being kept in view, we can now proceed to an examination of the details of the memorable expedition.

§ 680. The campaign begins, presumably in the spring or early summer of 701, with an invasion and partial conquest of Southern Phœnicia. Northern Syria, with the dependent coastland, may be assumed to have been permanently quieted by Sargon (§ 624 f.). Sinacherib's ambassador boasts of their entire subjugation, as proved by the extinction of their religion (2 K. xviii. 34). The course of events at this stage is not quite easy to make clear, as it is plain that the Assyrian official account is partial and incomplete. The omission of the name of Tyre, the principal city, is of itself more than suspicious. The supremacy of Tyre over the kindred communities in

these times is well established. The very fact that Tiglathpileser III and Sargon II do not name Sidon at all is proof of the predominance of Tyre.[1] The silence of Sinacherib can only be due to the failure of an attack upon Tyre, since a collision on his part with the ruling city was unavoidable.

§ 681. A key to the question is found in a citation made by Josephus[2] from Menander, the Ephesian historian of Tyre. According to the extract from Menander, Elulæus, who reigned thirty-six years, was king of Tyre at this time. His kingdom being invaded by the Assyrians during his absence in Cyprus, where he was reducing the rebellious inhabitants of Kition ("Chittim") to subjection (cf. § 42), Sidon, Akko, and Old Tyre (ἡ πάλαι Τύρος) revolted from him, and, with many other cities, joined the Assyrians. They furnished their new allies with sixty ships and eight hundred men; but these were defeated in a naval battle by twelve ships of Tyre, with the loss of five hundred men. The New or island city of Tyre was, however, besieged by the Assyrians for five years. But the Tyrians were able to hold out, their water supply being obtained by digging wells on the island itself, to replace the aqueducts that had been cut off by the besiegers. Josephus states that the Assyrian king was Shalmaneser (IV), but this is perhaps a conjecture of his own. While in all ways improbable, it is made specially unlikely by the fact that Sargon, Shalmaneser's successor, and the heir of his projects, makes no mention of any part of the affair.

§ 682. The events described may much more fitly be harmonized with the facts related by Sinacherib. The invasion of Phœnicia may possibly have been occasioned by appeals of the Kitians to Sinacherib for help. It will be remembered that certain of the cities of Cyprus, of which Kition may have been one, had acknowledged the overlordship of Sargon (§ 666). That Sinacherib calls Elu-

[1] Cf. Meyer, GA. § 357.

[2] Ant. ix. 4, 3.

læus (*Lulī*) king of Sidon and not of Tyre is naturally to be explained on the assumption that he preferred calling attention to the city which submitted to him (Col. II, 38, § 675) rather than to that which baffled his efforts to subjugate it. It is interesting to note that Sinacherib in the same inscription (II, 36 f.) declares that Elulæus fled to a remote place in the sea, which was obviously the island fortress of Tyre (referred to by Menander as above), while in another document[1] he asserts that it was in Cyprus (*Yatnan*) that he took refuge. Of course there was no reason for resort to Cyprus as long as the insular city was open to him, and Sinacherib gives us no reason to suppose that it was not. Additional probability is lent to the main hypothesis by the circumstance that Sinacherib claims for himself in detail (and rightly) the subjection of all Phœnicia except Tyre. This can only be explained on the assumption that the other communities had revolted from Tyre, of course under Assyrian instigation and pressure.

§ 683. The sea-fight related by Menander is also now readily accounted for, and it is noteworthy that the superior prowess and seamanship of the Tyrians, which had given them predominance among the Phœnicians, gave them also the victory in this case against tremendous odds. It only remains to be added in this connection that if it seems surprising that a siege of five years could be sustained by the island city, while Sinacherib was so busily occupied in other quarters, the difficulty vanishes when one considers that it could not have been the Assyrians who directly conducted the siege, but Phœnician sailors and soldiers as vassals of Assyria. This most renowned maritime fortress of the ancient world was already giving proof of that matchless power of heroic resistance which afterwards defied Nebuchadrezzar and Alexander. The Tyrians, like the other Phœnicians, were at all times ready to pay tribute to the Great King, whether he was Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian (cf. § 42). But in the

[1] III R. 12, 18. See Note 10 in Appendix.

present case it was not a question of allegiance, but of the abdication of maritime supremacy, and such pre-eminence Tyre was as little willing to forego as was afterwards her greatest colony, Carthage.

§ 684. Yet the success of Sinacherib in securing the submission of the greater portion of Phœnicia was brilliant and imposing. The allegiance of the outlying principalities of Palestine, — Ammon, Moab, Edom, — which had suffered little from Assyrian invasions and had comparatively little at stake in the quarrel (§ 677), was not long withheld (II, 52–54). Among the Philistines, who lay in the direct line of southern march, Ashdod, fresh from the memories of 711 (§ 631 f.), decided to remain true to Assyria. Secure with these essential advantages, the invader continued his progress. His great object now was to crush the head of the insurrection before Egypt could interpose. Thus he would be free to carry the war into Africa. Everything promised well for his designs, and his plans were executed with signal ability. They followed two lines of aggression. On the one hand, Judah must be subdued, to be forever held as the great vantage-ground against Egypt; on the other, the Philistian coast-land, the international highway, must be seized and perpetually secured. The one enterprise was involved with the other, because some of the leading communities of the Philistines, in whose politics Judah had since the time of Uzziah (§ 268) taken a controlling place, were still Palestinian in sympathy, and were kept by Judaizing tendencies, as well as by diplomatic and military influence, on the side of independence and the Western league. These cities, then, must be won over or reduced, while Judah, being itself attacked, would be powerless to prevent their subjugation.

§ 685. Accordingly, the army of invasion moved simultaneously in two divisions: the one invaded Judah, the other took in hand the Philistian principalities, at the same time preparing to checkmate the Egyptians. The

general line of march was apparently as follows. Leaving a small number of troops to guard Assyrian interests in Phœnicia, the Great King led his forces southwest, across the plain of Jezreel, through territory which was now permanently loyal to his sovereignty (§ 331, 364, 624 f.). Soon thereafter the army was divided. A portion of it, at whose head the king himself remained, marched southward along the coast, while a powerful force advanced southeastward through Samaria, into the heart of the Judæan kingdom, the stronghold of the revolt.

§ 686. Here there fell upon Judah the heaviest blow which it had ever suffered since it became a nation. It is briefly touched upon in the surviving annals of the country, and more fully detailed in the Assyrian accounts. It was nothing short of the devastation of the kingdom outside of Jerusalem, north and northwest of the capital (cf. § 696). 2 K. xviii. 13 tells us that Sinacherib "came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them." The vagueness of the Hebrew style of expression, and the comprehensiveness of the statement, prevent the cursory reader, and have indeed prevented most Biblical students, from realizing the full measure of destruction and suffering involved in this summary statement. The inscriptional record, in spite of the obscurity of some of its terms (Col. III, 11–20), indicates clearly the fury of the successive attacks upon the forty-six walled cities which were one after another taken by assault, along with an unestimated number of smaller towns. The enormous number of prisoners taken and deported to Assyria, seven times greater than those made captive after the surrender of Samaria (§ 362), is an additional indication of the widespread ruin and devastation invoked by the remorseless Ninevite.

§ 687. The course of the invasion is not indicated in any extant document except in one much misinterpreted passage of Isaiah (Isa. x. 28–32), who traced the progress of the Assyrians in the latest stage of their approach to the capital from the north, the direct road from Bethel,

through the deep gorge of Michmash, once held by a garrison of the Philistines when they too had come upon Judah by the same line of attack (§ 196, 1 Sam. xiii., xiv.). In language which in its minute particularization and abrupt transitions bears the stamp of reality, and betrays the intense excitement of the prophet on the watch, the itinerary of the enemy's army is given as accurately as it was noted in the tablets of the Assyrian general. This memorable march, which could almost be viewed from the walls of Jerusalem, represents, however, but little of the soil trodden by the desolating battalions of Asshur; for the summary given in the Inscriptions doubtless embraces the whole extent of the injury wrought during the campaign.

§ 688. Isaiah's excited outburst over the approach of the destroyers forms the culmination of the first period of the active conflict between Assyria and Judah, since the irruption from the north was followed by the submission of Hezekiah and his formal renunciation of the anti-Assyrian league. The Judæan record thus describes (2 K. xviii. 14–16) the effect of the demonstration of what Sinacherib calls the sheen of his majesty (Col. III, 30): "And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying: 'I have sinned; turn back from against me; what thou mayst assign to me I shall pay.'[1] And the king of Assyria laid upon Hezekiah king of Judah 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave up all the money which was at hand in the house of Jehovah and in the treasures of the king's house. At the same time Hezekiah cut off the doors of the temple of Jehovah, and the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave them to the king of Assyria." The narrative implies, or rather asserts, that Sinacherib accepted Hezekiah's terms; Hezekiah, in the technical language of the Assyrians themselves, declared that he had been a "sinner" against the right of his suzerain (cf. § 290), asked him to name the indemnity which would secure the withdrawal

[1] See Note 11 in Appendix.

of the army of invasion, and promised to furnish the full amount. The sum was named, and according to the report of Sinacherib himself, it was at least fully paid (Col. III, 34 ff.), and the threatened attack on the city was of course averted. Judah was thus humiliated and mulcted in an enormous fine, besides being put in bonds for an increased annual tribute; but the city itself was spared. The submission of Hezekiah took place, we are told, when the Great King was at Lachish. We must now return to the story of the expeditionary force in the western coastland.

§ 689. The reader will remember what has been said of the peculiar constitution and history of the Philistian petty states (§ 54, 192 ff.). Of the five leading cities of the early days, Gath was now no more a community of any consequence (cf. vol. i, p. 291; Amos i. 6–8). Of the remaining four, Ashdod, with its environment of villages, had been organized in 711 under Assyrian administration (§ 632), and as has just been stated remained true to its allegiance, while Gaza bore only a very subordinate part in the international affairs of the time. Ekron and Askalon, on the other hand, were well to the front in the present business, and though, like Judah, divided in sentiment, were under the control of an energetic anti-Assyrian element. The former city, especially, needed attention from Sinacherib on account of its intimate relations with Jerusalem (§ 692). To secure these cities, with the circumjacent territory, as well as other strategic points, the army was formed into several divisions which operated simultaneously. The area of occupation was at the same time so easily traversed and so compact that the whole of the forces could be concentrated upon any one point to meet any combination which the allied Egyptians and Palestinians could muster.

§ 690. There appear to have been three centres of attack — Ekron, Askalon, and Lachish. The last-named famous old city, which has been so prominently brought before the world by the late excavations upon its site,[1] is,

[1] By F. J. Bliss, cf. vol. i, 187, note 2.

curiously enough, not mentioned in the Assyrian memoirs at all. But the prominence given to it in the Bible account is fully justified by a sculpture in relief upon the walls of Sinacherib's palace at Nineveh, commemorating its capture and indicating its importance in the history of the campaign.[1] The omission from the written report must be admitted to furnish sufficient evidence of the incompleteness of the record, while, on the other hand, it forcibly suggests the extensive operations of the Assyrian armies.

§ 691. Askalon was the first of the cities to surrender, if we may judge from the fact that its fall is mentioned in the official accounts (Col. II, 58 ff.)[2] before that of Ekron. Its kinglet Zedekiah had usurped the throne in the interest of the concerted revolt. Sinacherib dethroned him and carried him away to Assyria along with his near and remoter relations and his household gods. His predecessor, whose Assyrian name, *Šarludārī* ("may the king live forever"), speaks significantly of his former allegiance, and who was the son of a ruler installed by Tiglathpileser III in place of the seditious Metintī (§ 332, 334), had been expelled by Zedekiah, but was now restored to the place and the dignity of a vassal of Asshur.

§ 692. The fortunes of Ekron (Col. II, 69 ff.)[3] are still more instructive as to the antecedent stages of the rebellion. There had been a fierce domestic struggle on the question of fealty to Assyria. *Padī* (or Padaiah) the king, whose name, like that of Zedekiah, indicates the political and religious influence of Judah (§ 268), was, with his party, on the side of continued loyalty. Hezekiah of Judah, acting as it would seem the part of a suzerain, took sides with the insurgents, and in the revolution which ensued and which ended in the dethronement of Padī, seized the defeated chief and thrust him into a dungeon in Jerusalem. The disaffected party in Ekron now made a desperate resistance to the Assyrian besiegers.

[1] See Note 12 in Appendix.
[2] Cf. the abstract III R. 12, 21 f.
[3] Cf. III R. 12, 22 ff.

During the progress of the siege occurred the most important event of the campaign, the long-delayed intervention of Egypt.

§ 693. We have a twofold indication of the relative point of time of this collision between the empires of the Tigris and the Nile. The cuneiform account (Col. II, 73 ff.) mentions it in connection with the uprising in Ekron, and after the story of the episode is completed, returns immediately to the siege of that city. Hence we may conclude that the direct object of the Egyptian intrusion was the relief of Ekron. The Hebrew record (2 K. xix. 8 ff.) tells us that when Sinacherib heard of the advance of the Egyptian forces, he had just left Lachish and was engaged in the siege of Libnah. The time then was just after the fall of Lachish, when the reduction of its dependent towns had been begun. Now 2 K. xviii. 14, already quoted, indicates that the submission of Hezekiah took place while Lachish was still under siege. That event, therefore, must have happened before the inroad of the Egyptian relieving force. The situation was accordingly in brief as follows. Judah had renounced the league under stress of dire necessity. Sinacherib, placated by the rich offering of the humiliated Hezekiah and trusting to his enforced fidelity, had temporarily withdrawn his army. One main division of his troops was beginning to besiege Ekron, while he himself, probably because he wished personally to guard the threatened frontier, remained with the force that was engaged with the southern towns that had joined the rebellious confederacy. When the Egyptian troops appeared on the scene with their allies from the Sinaitic peninsula ("Melūḫa"), the Assyrian monarch withdrew his own immediate force from Libnah, while his turtan drew off his troops from Ekron and the neighbourhood and came to join Sinacherib at Elteke, nearly midway between Lachish and Ekron (Josh. xix. 44).

§ 694. In the battle which ensued (Col. II, 76 ff.) Sinacherib claims the victory, and that rightly. The

defeat of the Egyptian combination was complete. Their success was antecedently improbable. The demoralization of the Egyptian governmental system as well as of the army, attested by Herodotus (cf. § 705), as well as by all other evidence, rendered an enterprise of this character one of very dubious promise. Notwithstanding the profuse offers of help to the revolting Palestinians, we may believe that the campaign was undertaken rather from dread of an Assyrian invasion than from a desire to keep faith with hard-pressed allies. The best proof of the defeat of the Egyptians is, however, the fact that, in spite of the subsequent vigorous régime of Tirhakah, they not only refrained from actively interfering again with Sinacherib, but kept themselves clear of Palestine for many years thereafter.

§ 695. The consequences of the ill-fated expedition to the insurgent states in Palestine was naturally most unfavourable. Immediately after the battle, Elteke and the neighbouring Timnath were taken and plundered, while Ekron was besieged in earnest. In due course it was taken by storm. The Great King, now thoroughly exasperated on account of the intrigues with Egypt, resolved to inflict exemplary punishment upon the leaders of the revolt in Ekron (Col. III, 1–3). They were indeed treated with a severity quite rare in the history of the Assyrian policy in Palestine (cf. § 625). But the lives of the rest of the inhabitants were spared. A discrimination between them was made, as had been done in the case of Samaria (§ 364). While those who were proved innocent of sedition were amnestied, the guilty were carried away into captivity. About the same time, or a little earlier, other towns within the domain of Ekron were taken, the names of the most of which, Joppa, Bene-berak (Josh. xix. 45), and Beth-Dagon (Josh. xv. 41), are familiar to students of the Bible. These the campaign annalist, who in this matter is heedlessly followed by modern scholars, describes (Col. II, 65–67; cf. 58) as dependencies of Askalon. But the sphere of influence of Askalon was necessarily local, and between it and the

towns in question there intervened not only Ekron but the Assyrianized Ashdod. Over Ekron itself was reinstated the former king Padī, the prisoner of Hezekiah, who had released him upon the demand of Sinacherib (Col. III, 7 ff.).

§ 696. It might seem that the subjugation and pacification of Palestine and Syria were now completed. But the Assyrian king thought otherwise. His army had not been long withdrawn from Jerusalem, before he saw reason for cancelling his agreement to spare the city. That compact had, perhaps, been concluded unadvisedly on his part. He may have thought it impossible that Hezekiah, impoverished by long tribute-giving, could pay the fine he imposed. The effect produced by the prompt "raising" of the money, according to the unconditional pledge of Hezekiah, was doubtless enhanced by the release of Padī, and the early prospect of his being replaced in Ekron, the other leading insurrectionary state. Sinacherib, at all events, kept his eye on Jerusalem. He well knew that the strong Egyptian party there needed watching, and before long he suspected, or, perhaps, was informed, of renewed negotiations (2 K. xviii. 20 f.)[1] This justified a second attempt on Jerusalem. That perfidious city must at last be made what Asshur had manifestly designed it for, an Assyrian stronghold. Sargon's policy of clemency in Palestine (§ 364, 625) must not be carried too far; Jerusalem, at least, must share the fate of her sister capital, Samaria. Hence the sending of the Assyrian army to Jerusalem, described in 2 K. xviii. 17; cf. Isa. xxii. 6 f. It, we may suppose, resumed also the work of destruction and spoliation among the cities and villages of Judah, this time to the west and south of the capital (cf. § 686).

[1] Isaiah, in Ch. xxxiii. 8, accuses Sinacherib of having "broken the covenant." But in this he does not necessarily lay the blame upon the Assyrians alone. The "covenant" was, of course, the agreement made upon the payment of the fine by Hezekiah, including the promise, expressed or implied, to leave Jerusalem unmolested.

§ 697. Meanwhile, Jerusalem was a scene of excitement and confusion and the clash of opposing interests. The Egyptian and revolutionary party, though still secretly active, had proved themselves but sorry counsellors. Their influence and *prestige* began to decline with the advance of the Assyrians into the home-land, and must have received notable shocks with the decision of Hezekiah to buy off Sinacherib (§ 688), the capture of Ekron (§ 695), and, above all, with the disastrous overthrow of the tardy Egyptian army of relief (§ 694). The state of affairs in the capital is vividly pictured by Isaiah (ch. xxii.) as he looks out from his prophetic watch-tower over Kidron, "the valley of vision" (xxii. 1, 5), now filled with the chariots and horsemen of Sinacherib and the contingents from his subject states.[1] This chapter is, in fact, more important for its historical information than for its ethical value. From it we gather that although a general and strenuous endeavour was made to improve the defences of the city (§ 698), a fierce struggle was still going on between the two leading parties. It would seem that the palace faction, who had had their way so far in diplomatic and military measures, and who were responsible for the *coup d'état* in Ekron and the understanding with Egypt, were under the guidance and inspiration of a certain Shebna, the king's chancellor (literally, "care-taker, manager," or the "controller of the household," xxii. 15; § 522). This man was apparently of foreign origin (v. 16), and possibly an Aramæan, if anything is to be inferred from the form of the name. He was specially obnoxious to Isaiah as the head and front of a pernicious clique and a baneful policy. And now that this untheocratic party had been discredited

[1] Indicated, according to genuine Hebrew fashion, by the naming of two prominent sections, the troops from Elam and those from Kir (2 K. xvi. 9; Am. i. 5; ix. 7). It is noteworthy that the Assyrian kings never mention the nationalities of their dependent or auxiliary troops, These are called indiscriminately and collectively "soldiers of (the god) Asshur," a striking evidence at once of the centralism of Semitic government and the strength of the religious sentiment (§ 57).

by the course of events, Isaiah takes the opportunity of dealing it a death-blow. Against its leader, Shebna, he fulminates in terrific tones, which bespeak the concentrated wrath and contempt nursed by years of self-restraint. The ambitious intriguer is rebuked for his presumption in preparing for himself a costly sepulchre like one of the native-born nobles (v. 16). He shall be deposed from his office and violently hurled from his seat into exile and obscurity as one throws a ball into an open field (v. 17 ff., 25). His official position is soon to be taken by the faithful counsellor Eliakim, to whom will be safely entrusted "the key of the house of David" (vs. 20–24). The threat was not wholly fulfilled at once. Eliakim was, however, made his successor, and he himself was placed, possibly to break his fall and save the self-respect of the humiliated king, his patron, in the inferior post of scribe (§ 699). Some of the members of his party fled from Jerusalem, perhaps to avoid popular indignation as much as to escape the expected doom of the city (xxii. 3). The picture of disorder is concluded by the melancholy spectacle of other unworthy citizens who kept up their reckless revelry to the bitter end, saying, "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die" (v. 13).

§ 698. The taking of Jerusalem would have been a serious but by no means an impossible undertaking for the Assyrian army. When the invaders first appeared in Judah, the capital was very inadequately prepared for a siege, and this may have been one of the reasons which induced Hezekiah to buy off the enemy (§ 688). But now, upon Sinacherib's change of policy and the sending of his army against Jerusalem, measures were taken at once to fortify the city more strongly and to provide an accessible water supply for the defenders (Isa. xxii. 8–11; cf. 2 Chr. xxxii. 3–5). The fountains which were used within the city, and which were ordinarily allowed to send their superfluous discharge beyond the walls, were provided with retaining reservoirs, for the double purpose of fur-

nishing an extra supply to the besieged, and making water generally inaccessible to the besiegers. Chief of these springs was the great fountain of Siloam. Its waters had, possibly by Hezekiah himself [1] (2 K. xx. 20), been brought southwestward from Gihon or the "Fountain of the Virgin" on the eastern side of the city, by a famous winding tunnel 1708 feet long. This aqueduct is "the brook that overflowed in the middle of the terrain" (2 Chr. xxxii. 4). Its redundant supply was now checked from following its wonted course to the "Fuller's Field," on the eastern slope of Ophel, through "the conduit of the upper pool" (Isa. vii. 3), by the formation of "a reservoir between the two walls for the waters of the old pool" (Isa. xxii. 11).[2] The defects in the city walls were repaired. Many of the buildings in the city were torn down and the materials used to form an additional barricade against the engines of the attacking army.

§ 699. If Jerusalem should surrender on demand, so much the better for all parties. Such at least was the opinion and expectation of the Assyrian commanders. Accordingly, the Rabshakeh (*rab šāḳū*, "highest chief"),

[1] It is thought, however, by some (Stade, GVI. I, 594; cf. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism*, etc., p. 381 f.) that the language of Isa. viii. 6, "The waters of Siloah that go softly," can only refer to the tunnel and its outflow, which would therefore have been already in existence in the days of Ahaz. The forms of the letters on the famous tunnel inscription, discovered in 1880 by young James Hornstein and a companion, cannot yet be assigned to a particular date.

[2] The "old pool" is therefore identical with the "upper pool," as would naturally be expected. The "lower pool," whose waters were also held in check by a reservoir (Isa. xxii. 9), is to be explained by 2 Chr. xxxii. 30, when it is said that Hezekiah "stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon, and directed them downwards on the west side of the City of David." The waters of Gihon were those which came from the Virgin's Spring. The "upper outflow" implies the "lower pool" and its outflow. Indeed, traces have been found of a second tunnel conducting from the pool of Siloam southwards to a second pool (cf. Sayce, *l.c.* p. 382). The two pools probably sent their overflow in common to the reservoir in the Fuller's Field. For the whole situation compare the measures adopted by Ahaz (§ 326), and see the plans in Stade, I, 590 ff.

an officer of diplomatic as well as military functions, who accompanied the commander-in-chief (*Turtān*) and the lieutenant-general or division commander (*rab ša rīšē* "chief of heads," Rabsaris), summoned the city to yield. The scene of this memorable parley is one already familiar to us in connection with the history of Ahaz (§ 326). It was a place of great resort on account of the reservoir outside of the walls, which in times of peace was reached by the gate of the king's garden. Here he was met by Eliakim, the king's chancellor, Shebna, the scribe, and Joah, the chronicler. On the wall were the few defenders of the city. Behind them stood a crowd of the populace, who had just now little sympathy with the Assyrian rule. For was not Egypt again under arms and on the march?

§ 700. An harangue was delivered by the Rabshakeh, most admirably calculated to stir up discontent in the minds of the people. He pointed out that it would be useless for the Judæans to resist the Great King, since they had no other reliance for active conflict than Egypt, and Egypt was a staff made of a broken reed. Such a characterization of Egypt they had repeatedly heard before as given by their own prophet Isaiah (cf. Isa. xxx. 3–7). Thus the Assyrian legate could appeal to a familiar feeling of distrust in the prevailing policy. He then uses a much more specious plea. Believing, as did all ancient Semites, in the potency of every national god, he ingeniously appeals to what must have been the popular sentiment even in Jerusalem with regard to the intent and purport of Hezekiah's reforms in religious worship (2 K. xviii. 22; cf. xviii. 4; 2 Chr. xxxi.). The removal of the "high places" was doubtless regarded as contributing to the prestige of Jerusalem as compared with the rest of Judah. But it was not difficult to make even the Jerusalemites believe that to deprive Jehovah of his local sanctuaries was to abridge his authority and lower him in comparison with the gods of the surrounding peoples. Thus his power for offence or defence would be of

comparatively little account. He then ridiculed the idea of resistance on the part of a people who had to trust to Egypt for chariots and horsemen, saying that they would not be able to muster two thousand riders, if that number of Assyrian horses were offered to them for the purpose. Finally he asserted, perhaps sincerely, that Jehovah had given him a commission to march against Jerusalem and destroy it.

§ 701. At this point the Judaite officials, fearing the effect of his adroit appeals upon the half-hearted guardians of the city, begged the legate not to continue to speak "Judaic," but "Aramaic," with which all diplomatists were familiar (xviii. 26). The Rabshakeh, feeling that his command of the language of the country had given him an unexpected power over the natives, retorted that his mission really was not to the king and nobles, but to the common soldiers, whose persistence in the defensive would involve the whole population in the extremest and most revolting necessities of a protracted siege (v. 27). He then resumed his appeals in the Hebrew language, urging the people not to be deceived by Hezekiah into continued resistance to the Great King, but to submit to the terms of surrender offered by him, making him at the same time a substantial propitiatory gift (v. 31, cf. 2 K. v. 15). They would thus be allowed at least to live upon the products of their own country, till at the end of the whole campaign they would be taken to another land as fertile and productive as their own. Otherwise their fate would be sealed, for no god had as yet been able to deliver his people out of the hand of the king of Assyria. The Syrian cities captured and destroyed within recent years had appealed in vain to their gods for deliverance, and Jehovah would prove like unto them (vs. 32–35).

§ 702. The harangue was listened to in silence; and with their garments rent, as the symbol of woe and desperation, Hezekiah's men told their unhappy king the ultimatum of the Assyrian. There was but one in all

Jerusalem to whom Hezekiah could turn for help — the man whose saving counsel had been neglected by king and people, with the result that the kingdom had been all but destroyed and its utter destruction was now impending. The king knew all along that Isaiah had the ear of Jehovah, and now he begs of him to intercede in behalf of "the remnant that is left" (2 K. xix. 1–5). But Isaiah had already received the word of promise, and he returned the king the cheering answer that he need not be afraid of the threats of the tyrant, that Sinacherib would hear something that would send him back to his own land, and that his death should be one of violence (vs. 6, 7).

§ 703. The deliverance did not follow at once. But it finally came in very unexpected fashion. The legate returned to report to his master his observations and the effect of his summons. Meanwhile Lachish had fallen, and Sinacherib's headquarters were transferred to the neighbouring town of Libnah. Then followed in quick succession the Egyptian incursion and defeat, the fall of Ekron, and the complete subjugation of the southwest of Palestine. To aid in the conflict with the Egyptians the Assyrian troops were withdrawn from Jerusalem; but the siege was not abandoned. An embassy was sent to the Assyrian king, only to be repulsed (Isa. xxxiii. 7). Grief and consternation overwhelmed Jerusalem, when Sinacherib sent a special set of messengers with a letter to Hezekiah, to reinforce the demand of the Rabshakeh for surrender. In this the former arguments and threats were substantially repeated (2 K. xix. 9–13).

§ 704. No reply was made to the message. Hezekiah uttered a fervent prayer that Jerusalem might be saved from the hand of Sinacherib (vs. 14–19). Then Isaiah announced to him in Jehovah's name that his prayer was heard: that Sinacherib, who like the other kings of Assyria was only an instrument in the hands of Jehovah to work his will among the nations, would be led back by the way he had come; that the now desolate country of

Judah would within two years be restored to its former productiveness and prosperity, and the remnant of Judah should be preserved. Sinacherib should not appear before the city as its besieger, but should return to his own country, leaving Jerusalem intact (vs. 20–34). What might now have happened in the ordinary course of events it is difficult to say. Probably Jerusalem would soon have surrendered at discretion. Even with the precautions above described (§ 698) and the strong natural defences of the city, the princes were little disposed to stand the threatened siege. But the fears of the Jerusalemites and the well-grounded hopes of the Assyrians were alike disappointed. The Hebrew record tells the story: "And the angel of Jehovah went forth and smote in the camp of Assyria one hundred and eighty and five thousand, and when people arose in the morning, behold, all of those men were dead corpses" (Isa. xxxvii. 36; cf. 2 K. xix. 35, 2 Chr. xxxii. 21).

§ 705. Certain questions are of prime interest in connection with this account. We ask, in what historical connection the event occurred, and what was the real nature of the infliction. There is grave difficulty in these questions, and they cannot be considered apart from one another. As contributing in some slight degree to the solution, the account of Herodotus (II, 141) may appropriately be given here: "After him [Sabakon the Ethiopian] a priest of Hephæstus [*i.e.* Ptaḥ] came to the throne whose name was Sethon [*i.e.* Seti]. He made the military class among the Egyptians of little account, and ignored them as though he were independent of their aid. He dishonoured them in various ways, and especially by taking from them their lands, which had been bestowed upon them in the times of the earlier kings at the rate of twelve acres for each man. After a time Sanacharib, king of the Assyrians and Arabians, led a great army against Egypt. Then the soldiery refused to succour the Egyptians. The priest then, being reduced to great straits,

repaired to the temple; and to the image of his god he bewailed the perils in which he was involved. While he was lamenting, sleep fell upon him, and it seemed to him in vision as though the god were standing by him and encouraging him, saying that he would incur no misfortune if he marched against the army of the Arabians, for he himself would supply him with defenders. Trusting to this apparition, he took with him such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, and encamped in Pelusium, since this was the key to the country. But none of the warrior class would accompany him, only traders and handicraftsmen and market-people. After they had arrived there, an army of field-mice fairly inundated their enemies in the night time, gnawing apart their quivers, their bows, and their shield-straps, so that on the following day, being deprived of their weapons, they were put to flight, and many of them fell. And this king, imaged in stone, still stands in the temple of Hephæstus, holding in his hand a mouse, and bearing an inscription which says: 'Let him who looks upon me fear the gods.'"

§ 706. This extract from the garrulous Greek traveller illustrates extremely well the growth of legend and myth out of an event of national importance in a superstitious age. But the substratum of fact in the story is evident enough. The fine spelling of the name of the invading king, his nationality, the vivid recollection of a great deliverance, and the survival of the commemorative monument, all attest the reality of the invasion as well as its sudden and apparently supernatural repulse. That Arabians are mentioned along with Assyrians is not due, as has been supposed, to the circumstance that large numbers of Arab nomads had made a settlement among the Babylonians. It rather points to an impressment by Sinacherib of Arabian auxiliaries into his service (cf. § 708).

§ 707. The calamity which led to the retreat is naturally regarded as having been an attack of pestilence. Infectious diseases destroy life more rapidly than any

other scourge of the race except war, of which they are often the consequence (Amos iv. 10). They are also ascribed specially to the intervention of the "angel of Jehovah" (2 Sam. xxiv. 15 ff.; 1 Chr. xxi. 12). The number destroyed is indeed great; but it has been equalled and surpassed by other historic plagues. It is, moreover, not certain, to the present writer at least, whether the number was not originally written 5180. In the text of Kings it is said that "the 'angel of Jehovah' went forth that night;" but the word "that" is not found in the Septuagint, while all reference to the night generally is excluded from both Isaiah and Chronicles. It would really appear as though the idea of a nocturnal visitation had been suggested to some late editor, as in the Egyptian story, by the wide-spread belief of the people of the East that destructive supernatural agencies generally, and especially demons of disease, are busiest at night. At any rate, it is clear that we need not assume that the loss of the Assyrians was suffered in a single night. It should also be mentioned that in the version of the affair given by Herodotus, the mice which gnawed the bowstrings of the "Assyrians and Arabians" are the popular prosaic working out of the fact that the mouse is a symbol of pestilence (1 Sam. vi. 4 f.).[1]

§ 708. As to the locality, there is strong antecedent probability against Jerusalem or the neighbourhood. Much more likely is it to have been the region indicated by Herodotus. It is perhaps not without significance that the country about Pelusium, the district in question, has always been notorious for the deadly miasma arising from its bogs and marshes. There can be no doubt whatever that Sinacherib's ultimate aim, like that of his successors, was to gain possession of Egypt, the great goal of Assyrian and Babylonian conquest. It was therefore quite natural that, after the fall of Ekron, he should seek to follow up his victory at Elteke and the capture of Lachish

[1] See Note 13 in Appendix.

by an invasion of Egypt, and at the same time secure his rear by taking and occupying Jerusalem. Moreover, the Egyptian legend means nothing if it does not imply that an invasion of the country by Sinacherib had actually been undertaken. Further, it is certain that the Assyrians carried on war at this time in Arabia beyond what is recorded either in Sinacherib's own annals or in the Hebrew records. Esarhaddon relates (see § 755) that Hazael, a king of the Arab country, whose fortress Adumu had been taken by Sinacherib, came to him to Nineveh to beg back from him his ancestral gods. This circumstance indicates that the operations of the Assyrians in this campaign were not by any means confined to Palestine. Finally, it is unmistakably implied in the oracle of Isaiah (xxxvii. 25) that Sinacherib contemplated the conquest of Egypt. The words are here put into his mouth: "With the sole of my foot I will dry up all the channels of Egypt." He regarded the arms of the Nile and the canals of the Delta as being already crossed by his army as though they were dry land — so sure was he of an immediate triumph in Egypt.

§ 709. The occurrences after the taking of Ekron may now be summarized as follows: The siege of Lachish was brought to a conclusion, and Libnah was also captured. By this means Sinacherib felt secure against any effort on the part of Judah to combine with its Egyptian allies. He hoped also to make an end of Judaite independence. But as he could not spare a large body of troops from his projected expedition, he sent his legate with a small guard, expecting that Jerusalem would be terrified into surrender. Meanwhile he made incursions into Arabia, and put off the attack on Jerusalem, intimidated and helpless as it was, till after he should have had his triumph over the Egyptians. This he now proceeded to secure. But in the neighbourhood of Pelusium his army was attacked by pestilence; and the far inferior troops of the prince of the Delta awaiting him at the border, were encouraged to advance upon the invaders, who thought it best to beat a retreat.

About the same time he heard news of disturbances in the far east. This report (cf. Isa. xxxvii. 7), combined with the decimation of his army by the plague, led him to march by the speediest route along the coast and back to Nineveh. Thus not only Egypt, but Jerusalem was rescued.[1]

§ 710. The campaign of Sinacherib in Palestine, fraught as it was with the most fateful issues for the kingdom and people of Jehovah, evoked in its various stages the prophetic voices in extraordinary profusion. The crowning proclamation of deliverance in the supreme moment of danger and dread (§ 702, 704) marked the climax of Isaiah's career. It vindicated, in a manner unexampled in all Israelitish history, the Prophet's twofold claim and function, to be the accredited commissioner of Jehovah and the true guide and guardian of his people. This utterance, so confident and at the same time so specific and unambiguous in disposing of the most urgent practical issues that had ever emerged in the history of Judah, needs no comment to show its applicability to the conditions of the time. But there are a considerable number of other prophecies, which aim to use the circumstances of this season of trial as occasions "for teaching, for convincing, for direction, for training in righteousness" (2 Tim. iii. 16). Their connection with the era of Assyrian invasion, though easily pointed out, is not always specifically indicated.

§ 711. The prophetic event that came last under our review was the symbolical act with its commentary recorded in Isa. xx. (§ 658 f.). Between the end of the three years, during which the humiliation of Egypt was enacted before the men of Jerusalem for a warning against the cherished alliance (v. 3 f.), and the time of the next extant prophecy, there occurred the accession of Sinacherib, followed by the agitation among the Western peoples which precipitated upon them the descent of the Assyrian army. During the time of negotiation and growing disaffection (§ 652 ff.),

[1] See Note 14 in Appendix.

Isaiah uttered a striking series of prophecies, of which we have a carefully edited summary in ch. xxix.–xxxii. A leading note of this group is the certain calamitous result of leaning upon Egypt. In so far the utterances in question are the natural sequel and development of the line of address pursued in ch. xviii.–xx. But here these results are clearly foreseen; and while shown to be the inevitable consequences of a false and foolish policy, they are traced plainly and faithfully to their ultimate roots in the sins of the people. The two middle chapters of the group (xxx., xxxi.) are characterized by plainness of speech and specific allusions to definite events. The first of the series and the last (xxix., xxxii.) abound in mystical lore, and in allusions, more or less thinly veiled, both to the impending distress and the future deliverance.

§ 712. In ch. xxix., Jerusalem, symbolized by the pet name "Ariel" or "God's Lion," is warned that after a calendar year (marked by the regular "feasts") had gone round, it would be encompassed by a besieging army drawn from many nations. It should be brought near to utter extinction, so near that its once vigorous and flourishing life is compared to that of a jibbering ghost (xxix. 1–4). And yet the multitude of the foes that hunger and thirst to possess Jerusalem should be baffled. They are to be rudely awakened out of their dreams of conquest and spoliation, while already gloating over their expected prey; and are to vanish from about her as a vision of the night. For Jehovah will come "with thunder and with earthquake, and mighty noise, with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of devouring fire," so that like fine dust and chaff they shall be swept away utterly, and in a moment (xxix. 5–8).

§ 713. But the prophet feels that this revelation is unintelligible to his hearers. Even the spiritual guides of the people are blind to his teaching, and stumble about helplessly, with a worse than physical intoxication (cf. xxviii. 7). All true disclosures of Jehovah's will are to

them as a sealed book (cf. Rev. v. 2), which even the educated cannot read, much less the uninitiated multitude (xxix. 9–12). The explanation is that their habit of mere ceremonial and lip worship has estrayed their "heart" or spiritual faculty from God, and led them to substitute empty traditional formularies for the spontaneous worship of the soul (xxix. 13). For this reason not only was the "vision" strange, but the "work" of Jehovah, or the further manifestation of his will in their own history, must continue to be "wonderful" or inexplicable to them (xxix. 14). The infatuated leaders of the people have a work and plan of their own. Ignoring the divinely authenticated counsel, they develop for themselves a characteristic policy. And as it runs counter to the will of Jehovah, they feel it necessary to work in the dark, and to conceal their plans from the prophet under the vain persuasion that they thus escape the scrutiny of God himself. They thereby reveal an unheard-of degree of audacity as well as of stupid perversity (xxix. 15–16).

§ 714. But such insensate dulness and blindness shall not continue to prevail. At least the poor and humble, misguided and defrauded as they have been, shall be disenchanted and inwardly illumined. Deaf ears shall be unstopped to hear and blind eyes opened to see the word of Jehovah's messenger recorded for their enlightenment. Thus a spiritual transformation shall take place which shall transmute the uncultivated Lebanon of their minds and hearts into a fruitful field of knowledge and joy. On the other hand what now seems a fruitful field shall be turned into a forest. It shall be at the expense of the oppressors without and the mockers within the community, of the pettifogging word-twister, and the crafty corrupter and perverter of judgment, all of whom shall vanish and be no more (xxix. 17–21). He who redeemed Abraham shall not leave Israel to shame and humiliation. His work of regeneration, manifested among the chosen sons of God, shall win over his people to worship and reverential awe.

Thus shall misguided souls rightly discern the truth; and querulous doubters shall meekly accept instruction (xxix. 22–24).

§ 715. The second of this group of discourses indicates plainly the practical ground of complaint against the opponents of Isaiah — the policy of the Egyptian party which was leading the people of Judah to "shame and confusion and sudden destruction." The "woe" that was denounced in ch. xxix. 15 against those who concealed their workings from Jehovah and his prophet, is here invoked (ch. xxx. 1) against Jehovah's "unruly children." The ground of the infliction is that they had adopted an active policy, and woven a web of international complications, without seeking counsel and inspiration from him. They were cementing an alliance with Egypt, and in order to secure its ratification were sending ambassadors of princely rank to the capitals of petty kingdoms in the Delta. These, then, should reap no profit from their mission, but only shame and reproach. Nay further: in their insane desire to secure the favour of the empire of the Nile, they send presents of their richest treasures upon heavily laden beasts of burden, through regions infested by ravenous beasts and deadly serpents, on to the Ethiopian capital (§ 347). Even this laborious self-abasement should be without result. "For," the Prophet says, "Egypt's help is vanity and emptiness, therefore I have called her 'Rahab the Do-nothing'" (xxx. 1–7).[1]

§ 716. The Prophet is bidden to post up this sententious word-picture in a conspicuous place for the benefit of contemporaries, and to record it in his roll as a testimony for future ages. For the infatuation of Judah with the idea of Egyptian protection is inveterate. And the repugnance of the rebellious, deceitful people of Jehovah to hear anything but agreeable and congenial oracles from Him, or even to tolerate his moral government is incorrigible (xxx. 8–11). But their despite of his word, and their

[1] See Note 15 in Appendix.

trust in crookedness and perverseness, give them only a fancied security; their iniquity of itself has made a flaw in their defences, which shall soon end in a complete and sudden collapse, and a deadly breach for the entrance of their enemies. Their destruction then will be like that of a potter's vessel when no fragment is found large enough to carry a live coal or hold a sup of water (xxx. 12–14). God had given them often enough the saving counsel; "through returning and resting ye shall get deliverance; in quiescence and trust shall be your strength," but they did not care to listen. They said, "No; we will fly on horses and ride on swift steeds." But their only chance to show their swiftness will be to flee before swifter pursuers, a handful of whom will put a thousand to rout. In the country thus shorn of its people, what was once a tree of the forest surrounded by countless companions, shall become a beacon pole alone upon the hills, a warning instead of a defence (xxx. 15–17).

§ 717. These threatenings are, however, in large part conditional, depending on the attitude of the people when the work of destruction has begun. Therefore, Jehovah will wait before striking the final blow, listening for the cry of his rebellious but penitent children. Just because he is "a God who sets things right,"[1] those who wait for him receive a blessing that comes through his grace and mercy, and to those who dwell in Zion, his chosen abode, is promised an end of sorrow and weeping (xxx. 18, 19). But such a deliverance is not to be vouchsafed as a capricious or arbitrary boon. The "bread of adversity and water of affliction" (cf. the sarcasm of the Rabshakeh, xxxvi. 12) are to have their divinely appointed uses. Ministers of Jehovah, long neglected and mute, are to be welcomed to the seat of public instruction, and be looked up to as the true guides of the nation. The people shall there be directed infallibly as to the straight, sure path of national honour and duty. Another

[1] See note to § 457.

sure consequence will be that the false worship of Jehovah will be wholly forsworn, and the richly gilded and silvered images be flung away with loathing and contempt (xxx. 20–22). This religious transformation shall have its accompaniment and counterpart in the prosperity of the country, whose languishing industries, especially agriculture and its prerequisite irrigation, shall flourish again after the repulse of the Assyrian invaders and the tumbling down of the discredited bulwarks of national defence. And then when Jehovah has bound up his people's wounds, and healed the contusions and bruises of the state (cf. i. 5), the now regenerated land shall be so full of hope and gladness that its condition, as compared with the present gloom, shall be as the brightness of the sun to that of the moon, or like the splendour of the sun raised to a sevenfold brilliancy (xxx. 23–26).

§ 718. This vision of a glory for Zion truly Messianic does not, however, dazzle the eyes of the Prophet, but rather reveals to him more clearly the doom that must first be fulfilled by the foes of Israel. The catastrophe is brought on by the appearing of the self-revealing God ("the name of Jehovah"), accompanied by those sympathetic commotions in the material world which the Hebrew seers and poets habitually represent as part of the pomp and terror of the vengeful Deity intervening on behalf of his chosen (cf. Ps. xviii.; li.; Mic. i.; Hab. iii., etc.). In the fire and smoke which are the outbreathings of his wrath, he sweeps along like an overwhelming torrent, that makes the victims surge to and fro till they perish from exhaustion. At the same time they lose their way in the confusion, like wild beasts that are forced out of their accustomed haunts (cf. xxxvii. 29; Ezek. xix. 4) by the hunter's bridle (xxx. 27, 28). At this there is the sound of rejoicing among the redeemed of Jehovah, as free and gladsome as that which is heard in the nightly celebration of some great festival, or as the music of the pipe, to whose strains pilgrims wend their way to greet the Rock of Israel in Zion (xxx. 29).

In awful contrast to this joyful interlude is heard the august voice of Jehovah in the thunder, and the stroke of his arm in the lightning.[1] The strife and rush and tumult of the contending elements: the darting flame, the riven storm-cloud, the pouring rain, and the driving hail, enhance the terrors and grandeur of the sublime theophany. As peal follows peal and stroke follows stroke, lighting upon the devoted Assyrian, the sound of the timbrel and the lute is heard in the camp of Israel in chorus with the surging din of Jehovah's battle (xxx. 30–32). Again the image of destruction is changed. But the horror is only the more intensified, because the figure is one more hideously familiar to the hearers. Instead of celestial flame and smoke it is the lurid fires and stifling vapours of Tophet that are presented as the agent of the Assyrian's doom. It is no longer a battle, but an immolation. The pile made high and broad has long been prepared for a worthy victim. It is the Great King himself that is to be offered. And it is the wrath of Jehovah, like a stream of brimstone, that kindles the pyre (xxx. 33).

§ 719. Again the Prophet turns in indignation against the obnoxious party in the state. With lack of faith and lack of insight at once, they persist in going down to Egypt for help and staying themselves upon horses and chariots because these are many and strong. This policy of theirs is self-destructive, notably because the Egyptians were unreliable allies, but especially because, at the best, they could render only material defence. Along with those who have vainly sought their help they shall stumble and fall, and that by the outstretched arm of "the Holy One of Israel," whom they have ignored and defied (xxxi. 1–3). In contrast to such defenders the figure of Jehovah of hosts towers larger and more portentous than ever in the prophetic vision as the true protector of his city and his people. In an image such as Homer had already employed,[2] and which the Old Testament prophets delight to use, the

[1] Cf. Shelley's "Cloud." [2] Iliad xii. 299 ff.; xviii. 161 f.

champion of Jerusalem is represented as a lion guarding his prey from a band of baffled shepherds, whose only weapon is their incessant and impotent shouting.[1] And, more expressive still, He appears as an eagle flitting to and fro over the threatened nest, darting down upon and beating off all intruders and assailants. Thus shall Jehovah take his stand upon the heights of Zion to do battle for his own (xxxi. 4 f.). With another sudden but very natural turn of thought, Israel is adjured to give its allegiance once more to its own faithful and devoted protector. With swiftest glance the prophet's eye runs along the eventful days, till it pauses in view of two much-desired consummations. On the one hand the false gods of Israel are cast down as a manifest delusion and snare; on the other, the Assyrian is overthrown by the sword, not of man, but of God (xxxi. 6–9).

§ 720. Still farther sweeps on the prevision and brighter grows the ever-receding horizon. Jehovah will at length rule through a king whose watchwords shall be "righteousness and justice" (xxxii. 1). The Holy City was not to be saved from imminent destruction that it should become again as of yore the victim and haunt of those judicial and governmental evils that were the most noxious elements of its social and domestic life (§ 593 ff., 603 f.). Freedom from merely material destruction was neither the aspiration of the Prophet nor the purpose of Jehovah. If this were all that Isaiah strove and prayed for, his protest against the league with Egypt would lose half its meaning; for its motive was to disclaim the idea of a deliverance to be wrought by the policy of those whose character

[1] The "prey" of the lion is only mentioned here as something which he sets himself to guard and protect against all comers. There is here no indication that Jehovah makes a prey of those whom he thus defends, as though the people of Jerusalem were first to be punished by his judgments before being shielded by his care. Much less are we "to be reminded how grim and cruel He must sometimes appear even in His saving providences" (G. A. Smith, *Isaiah* I. 243). Such a mixing of figures implies very unprophetic and unpoetic subtlety.

and actions were bringing Jehovah's religion into contempt and neglect. No; it was a reformed religious service, and a regenerated society, that he hoped to see emerge from the impending fiery trial. A true "man," whose mission it was both to protect and to comfort, would shield the harassed and weary from the storms of oppression and the burning heat of adversity (xxxii. 2). The dispensers of justice, once blinded through prejudice or passion (cf. xi. 2 f.; xxix. 10), should then discern clearly and decide impartially for the right, with neither blundering precipitation nor halting uncertainty (xxxii. 3 f.). Men would appear as they really were to the newly awakened moral sense of the community. The hollow-hearted reprobate and the crafty rogue should no more practise their knavery and charlatanism with impunity. Their pernicious character should stand unmasked, and their impositions upon the needy and defenceless should cease, just as the noble-hearted friend of the people would be honoured and continue his beneficent work with the backing of public opinion (xxxii. 5–8).

§ 721. Again the dark and disheartening present thrusts itself upon the Prophet's view. If there was one thing more hopeless than another in the condition of the society of the capital, it was the self-indulgence and luxuriousness of its women of fashion (§ 271, 596). The thought, or perhaps the sight, of them stirs him up to bitter upbraiding and a definite announcement of the coming judgment. Remembering that their means for self-indulgence were drawn from the ill-requited toil of the suffering poor, his disgust at their heartless indifference rises to uncontrollable indignation. The careless, irresponsible gayety of idle, frivolous, pampered women is one of the most exasperating and discouraging symptoms of any civilized society; and to a reformer of the insight and moral earnestness of Isaiah, such a spectacle at such a time was more than could be calmly endured. And now the seer, as once before when moved to prophecy by the thought of the

extravagance of the ladies of Jerusalem (iii. 16 ff.), speaks out what he has seen with the inward sight. What fate so fitting for that whole class of votaries of pleasure and despisers of Jehovah and his poor ones, as the drying up of the source of supply, the desolation of that very soil which had yielded its choicest fruits for their selfish enjoyment? A sudden plunge is to be made from giddy revelry to sore privation. "For a year and more,"[1] the people of the land have to subsist as best they can without a harvest or vintage. The fields and the crops standing and garnered are to be ravaged, and in the capital itself, destitute and terror-stricken, the din and bustle of stirring life will be hushed. Thorns and briers will grow up everywhere, and flocks will be pastured beside the watch-towers and the Temple hill (xxxii. 9–14). The punishment, to be sure, is not to preclude the ultimate regeneration. The renewing spirit of Jehovah will again clothe the land with verdure and the promise of harvest, and quietness and security against every foe will follow the enthronement of righteousness and justice (xxxii. 15–18). Only the judgment must first come; and happy are those who in faith and confidence abide the visitation and are permitted to enter into the work of cultivating the renovated well-watered land and to enjoy its productiveness (xxxii. 19 f.).

§ 722. Such reflections and forecasts of the great Prophet, in view of the expected Assyrian invasion, were uttered after the understanding between Hezekiah and Merodach-baladan (§ 679; cf. § 637) and the negotiations between the court party in Jerusalem and Egypt (§ 678, 697) and the Judaite intervention in Ekron (§ 692) had

[1] Literally: "days beyond a year." This phrase is not to be explained by xxix. 1, since the terms are not at all analogous. We have to compare with xxxvii. 30, where it is said that the ploughing and seeding would, on account of the devastation by the Assyrians, be suspended not only during the current, but also during the coming year, when all that would spring up would be the product of chance droppings from the preceding harvest. In the third year agricultural operations would be fully resumed. That is to say, the fallow time would be a part of two years or "days beyond a year."

given his country a leading place in the revolt of the West-land, and made it plain that Judah and Jerusalem would have to bear the brunt of the invader's assaults. These utterances bring us near the close of 702 B.C. Ch. xxii., whose contents are of more historical than of "prophetical" significance, has been already fully considered (§ 697 f.). According to it the Assyrian troops are now encamped before the city (701 B.C.). The Egyptian policy and party in Jerusalem receive their death-blow in this surprising but characteristic outburst. With it, however, we do not come to the end of the Prophet's discourses. It stands in point of time between two others, which illustrate most completely both the versatile and soaring genius of Isaiah and the order and process of Providence and Revelation. I refer to ch. x. 5–xii. 6, and to ch. xxxiii. To the former of these deliverances allusion has already been made. That the situation here presented corresponds rather to the invasion of Sinacherib than to the hurried march of Sargon has been already shown (§ 633, 687); and its internal character fully bears out the same conclusion. For example, the Prophet puts a boastful harangue into the mouth of the invading king as he approaches Jerusalem (x. 8 ff.), and it differs only slightly from the language actually used by the Rabshakeh when summoning the city to surrender (1 K. xviii. 33 ff.). Such terms were not suitable to any Assyrian aggressor in Judah before the time of Sinacherib. Observe also that "Jerusalem" is the objective point of attack (v. 10 f.), which was out of the question for any expedition of Sargon.

§ 723. In this magnificent discourse Isaiah gives the key to the interpretation of Oriental history. To him there are two principal nationalities immediately involved. In each of them the supreme Ruler of nations has a special concern. One of them is the great Assyrian power. It is now supreme in the civilized world. Its supremacy has been gained by force skilfully organized and steadily ex-

erted as never before in the world's history, just as its haughty ruler proudly asserts (vs. 7, 13). The smaller kingdoms east and west go down before it singly or allied with or without resistance (vs. 8 f., 13 f.). The other nationality is Israel, or rather the surviving fragments of what once was Israel. Crippled by disunion and misgovernment, it is now smaller and feebler than in the days of former Assyrian conquerors, and is surely becoming the prey of the great subverter of the nations (vs. 10 f.). Upon Israel Assyria is permitted to work its will almost to complete destruction (v. 6). With dramatic vividness the Great King sets forth the might and policy of his empire. And it would seem as if his boasts were justified. For who had been able to stay the force of his onset? and what god could deliver Jerusalem out of his hand? (v. 11). From the common-sense point of view he was right. And Isaiah, who was no mere common-sense observer, nevertheless acknowledges that of his own deeds he had spoken truth (cf. xxxvii. 18). Moreover, he would go on as he had done. He would still by force and cunning remove the bounds of the nations, dethrone their princes, despoil them of their treasures, and seize and deport their families, taking up one by one from his home with as much ease and as little resistance as one puts his hand into a nest and takes out the eggs or the hushed, unsheltered nestlings from whom the frightened mother bird has flown. Further still: when the Assyrian robs and spoils the fields and homesteads of Judah, the prophet as a statesman and patriot declares that the fate of his countrymen is a well-deserved punishment. The paradox — an object lesson and typical example for the ages — only Isaiah and such as he can solve. He puts into the crucible his devotion to his country, along with his loyalty to Jehovah and to his righteousness, and it comes forth as gold. It is divine justice that, for gracious ends, is meting out this punishment by the hand of the Assyrian oppressor. And so the truer patriotism is justified.

§ 724. But the solution is incomplete till judgment is given upon the Assyrian despot. There is a meaning infinitely profound and far-reaching in this drastic discipline of Jehovah's people. One of its lessons for the time, and for all time, is that it is Jehovah himself who directs the stroke, and that, too, by the hand of his people's most hurtful foe. But this shows only one side of the swiftly unrolling scroll of Providence. The ministry of destruction, even of wholesome chastening, cannot be perpetual. The vengeful destroyer himself will come to an end when his work is done — the work to which, all unconsciously, he was set by Jehovah himself. How singular again was Isaiah in his judgment of Assyria! The vicegerent of Asshur was now at the summit of his power. All Palestine was within his grasp. Jerusalem seemed about to fall before his triumphantly advancing troops, whose march from station to station could almost be followed from the heights of the hapless city (vs. 28 ff.). Egypt alone among the western lands was unsubdued. But its time also was obviously near at hand, as indeed it did yield to Assyria under Sinacherib's son.

§ 725. And yet the Prophet calmly pronounces Assyria's doom. While a "remnant" of Israel (vs. 20 ff. xxxvii. 4) was to be saved in perpetuity, the boastful, remorseless, resistless Assyrian power was to come to an utter end by Jehovah's own hand, as soon as it had subserved his purpose (v. 12). The boastings of the Great King were as vain and impotent as though an axe or a saw (cf. vs. 33 f.) should claim to be self-moved and disown the driving and guiding hand of the workman; or as if the staff or the rod (cf. v. 24) should arrogate to itself not only the force of the stroke, but power over the striker (v. 15), though all the while Assyria is the rod and the staff of Jehovah (v. 5). "Isaiah's genius now supplies him with a splendid figure with which to depict the collapse of the Assyrian enterprise. The serried battalions of Assyria appear to his imagination as the trees of some huge

forest, irresistible in their strength and countless in their number, but the light of Israel kindles majestically into a flame, and at the end of a single day a child may count them" (vs. 17–19).[1] And so prophetic insight discerns the essential weakness, and the elements of decay and retribution, in the only enduring empire yet known to men. And prophetic foresight outruns a century's further march of conquest, and countless processions of captives and hostages, who should come to kiss the feet of mightier monarchs than Sinacherib. "Jehovah of hosts shall stir up against him a scourge, as in the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb" (v. 26). The view of the advancing Assyrian hosts, and the echo of the heartrending cries of the fugitives from the evacuated villages (vs. 28 ff.), only serve to make stronger the God-given assurance. The warriors of Asshur were as the trees of the forest and their leaders as the cedars of Lebanon; but, "behold, the Lord Jehovah of hosts lops off the boughs with a terrific crash, and the tall of stature are hewn down; the lofty ones shall be brought low, and he shall cut down with iron the thickets of the forest, and by the majestic One Lebanon shall fall" (vs. 33 f.; cf. 15). It is evident that the Prophet was accustomed to walk with Jehovah on rare and commanding heights of observation and prevision.

§ 726. A picture of the future, still more profound and far-reaching, follows the promise of Israel's deliverance and the forecast of Assyria's final doom. After all, Isaiah's main business was that of a teacher and preacher of righteousness. To him the revival of Israel and the ruin of Assyria were no mere indication of Jehovah's superiority in strength and wisdom (cf. x. 13) to the gods of the nations. They were the tokens and conditions of a moral triumph, of the reinstatement of the moral order of Jehovah's world, a vindication of Jehovah's rightful title to supremacy among the peoples of the earth. Thirty years before, when the end of the Syro-Ephraimitish war was foreseen

[1] Driver, *Isaiah, his Life and Times* (London, Nisbet & Co.), p. 71.

to be the complete overthrow of the combination against Judah (§ 326), the Prophet was filled with grief at the thought of the desolation as well as the faithlessness of the Northern Kingdom (cf. § 329); but his soul revived at the prospect of a peaceful restoration and joyous reunion of the true Israel (ix. 1–5). Then he uttered the great prophecy as to the birth and royal nature of the expected Immanuel (ix. 6 f.), who should be equal to the duties of the ideal government of the nation, and whose name was to be "the wonderful Counsellor, the perpetual Father,[1] the god-like Hero, the Prince of peace." So now in the throes of a sterner conflict, whose issue he sees just as clearly, the prophet descries beyond the horizon of common sight a similar scene of peace and gladness (xi. 1–10). Again, as before (cf. ix. 7) the pillars of the regenerated kingdom shall be justice and righteousness. From the stem of David's royal house, though hewn so near to the earth, an offshot will arise to fulfil the real destiny and to attain to the ideal glories of that ancient and immortal line. His attributes, as here set forth, are an expansion of the manifold characterization of the earlier prophecy. The wonderful Counsellor,[2] the god-like Hero, and the perpetual Protector are successively portrayed (vs. 2–5; § 603).

§ 727. Then in contrast with the turmoil of the nations in arms (ch. xvii. 12 f.) and the heavy tread of the marching warriors (ch. ix. 5) and the angry murmur of the Assyrian host, like the growling of the couching lion, or the moaning of the sea (ch. v. 29 f.), comes the reign of the Prince of peace, throned in Mount Zion. Under his benign and boundless sway the higher and lower creation cease their immemorial strife, and in innocent mutual con-

[1] That is (cf. § 431) a never-failing Protector, not "a father of booty," as the phrase is sometimes rendered, with disregard alike of the context as a whole and of the parallelism.

[2] That so large a rôle is here ascribed to the "counsellor" is to be explained by the consideration that the highest function of the ideal king was to give "counsel" (cf. 1 K. iii. 28), as indeed is implied in the very name for "king" (§ 36).

fidence unite in a universal and unbroken truce of God (xi. 6–9). The secret spell that binds and unifies all peoples is the recognition of Jehovah (v. 9). To the crowned son of Jesse, in his glorious resting-place, the reconciled nations shall come flocking (v. 10; cf. ii. 1 ff.). But first and chief of all shall return the banished sons of an undivided Israel. Ephraim and Judah, no longer estranged, shall unite to defend their own and Jehovah's land. The remotest regions shall restore the exiles, who shall speed over the well-cleared highways that lead to the home-land (v. 11–16). Then follows the hymn of grateful praise that shall be sung by the happy pilgrims (ch. xii.).

§ 728. The long agony will now soon be over, and Jerusalem be saved. Isaiah, the serenity of whose soul seems incapable of disturbance, who never misses the safe and sure cross-way between the practical and the contemplative life, all whose previous discourses reveal absolute self-control even amid the most appalling dangers, and perfect mental balance even in the furthest flight of his imagination, at last shows signs of intense excitement, if not of ecstasy. His last discourse (ch. xxxiii.), conceived and uttered as the Assyrian troops were about to raise the siege of Jerusalem, or perhaps when the news was brought of the disaster at Pelusium (§ 704 ff.), while entirely characteristic of Isaiah in its matter, is surprisingly unlike his other compositions in expression.[1] Instead of the accustomed smooth and flowing periods, we have here abrupt transitions and in general an exclamatory manner, almost, and in some passages quite, of the lyrical style.

[1] Hence it has been supposed by a number of recent critics that this chapter was written after the Exile. The surest test of its authorship is the fundamental reference to the moral and social struggle characteristic of this whole period of prophecy from Amos to Micah. See especially vs. 14 ff. Cheyne in his *Introduction* (1895, p. 171) says that the religious ideas belong to the church of the Second Temple. The decision depends largely on one's general critical standpoint. In its style, however, it does not resemble Isaiah's spontaneous utterances. In the case of a writer of Isaiah's endowments style is not a sure criterion of authorship.

It is, however, of highly artistic structure. It consists of two equal portions of twelve verses each, and each of these again equally subdivided. This prophetic poem opens with a forecast[1] of the deserved ruin of the aggressive and treacherous Assyrian, who should be paid in kind when his hour is come (v. 1). A fervent prayer for Jehovah's generous intervention (v. 2) is at once followed by a picture of the tumultuous dispersion and spoliation of the nations serving under Asshur, brought about in answer to the prayer, and of the enduring moral and spiritual regeneration which Jerusalem shall experience (vs. 3–6). Next comes a reminiscence of the people's disappointment and grief at the rejection of the embassy (sent after the first demand for surrender, § 703), and of the desolation of the devastated land (vs. 7–9). Again comes the antithesis: Jehovah arises; the plans of the oppressor are made null and void; their own passionate outbreathings of cruel hate become a fire to consume them (vs. 9–12).

§ 729. The second half of the prophecy (vs. 13–24) forms of itself a triumphal ode of almost unequalled beauty[2] and of imaginative splendour and sustained elevation of thought and feeling unsurpassed in Hebrew literature. The scorners of Jehovah and of his teaching in Jerusalem (§ 643) are appalled and dismayed at this exhibition of his might. Now comes the time of proof; for the judgment is at hand. The trial is by fire, the testing of God (xxix. 6; xxx. 27, 30; § 718): "who of us can abide the consuming fire? who of us can abide the perpetual burnings?" (vs. 13 f.). The answer is the vindication of the whole prophetic teaching (cf. Ps. xv.; xxiv. 3 f.; § 607 ff.). "He that walketh in righteousness and speaketh in uprightness, he that rejecteth the gain of extortion, who snatcheth away his hand from grasping a bribe, who stoppeth his ears from hearing of bloodshed, who shutteth his

[1] Most signally verified in the wrathful uprising of the nations for the destruction of Nineveh in 608 B.C.

[2] Cf. W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, p. 354.

eyes from looking upon evil; he shall dwell among the heights, his stronghold shall be rock-built defences; his bread is given him, his water is assured" (vs. 15, 16). The king (Hezekiah) is soon to be arrayed in splendid robes of royalty, instead of the garments of his humiliation (cf. xxxvii. 1). The view of the far-stretching recovered land of Judah is now unhampered by any besieging army (v. 17). The terror of the siege will now be matter for grateful recollection: "Where is he that counted out, where is he that weighed (the money paid to Sinacherib)? where is he that numbered the towns (in reconnoitring)?" No more shall the foreign speech of the fierce Assyrian grate harshly upon the ears of the terror-stricken citizens (vs. 18 f.).

§ 730. Most cheering of all, the home of the Temple and the centre of Jehovah's worship remains unharmed and shall abide secure. The tent (§ 465) shall not be struck, nor the people deported like so many of their brothers (§ 686) outside of Jerusalem (v. 20). "For the name[1] of Jehovah the majestic (cf. x. 34; xxx. 27 f.) is to us in the place of broad rivers and canals, although no galley with oars goes there nor any stately ships pass through" — Jerusalem cannot rely upon the protecting and wealth-giving streams which flow by Nineveh and Babylon;[2] but Jehovah is a surer protection and a more substantial boast — "for Jehovah is our judge; Jehovah is our lawgiver; Jehovah is our king: He will save us" (vs. 21 f.). Jerusalem, which was like a ship whose tacklings were loosed, its mast unshipped, and its sails unspread, suddenly awakes to triumphant life and energy. Its people seize upon the spoil of the fleeing Assyrians (cf. v. 4), even the crippled

[1] So read, according to the Sept. and Syr. versions, by a change of vowels, instead of the word translated "there."

[2] The streams of Babylonia were always a matter of admiration and envy to the smaller states of Western Asia, and they play quite a rôle in Old Testament literature from the story of Paradise to the songs of the Exile (Ps. cxxxvii.). As illustrating the thought of the text, compare the rise of the Euphrates as a symbol of the power of Assyria in Isa. viii. 7 f., where a contrast is also drawn with the puny stream of Jerusalem.

invalids sharing in the pursuit and the booty (v. 23). Henceforth there is to be neither famine nor wasting sickness. The "bread of adversity and water of affliction" (xxx. 20; § 717) shall be doled out no longer. For the guilt that brought the punishment is forgiven (v. 24; cf. v. 16).

§ 731. A poem wholly lyrical, forming a pendant to this semi-lyrical prophecy, has been preserved to us among the Temple hymns. It immortalizes the gratitude and praise to the Deliverer that were felt and sung by the faithful "remnant." We can imagine the situation. The king and the palace officials were now completely won over to the views and policy of Isaiah, and for a time there was no lack of enthusiasm among the people at large. In particular the Temple was the scene of a more spiritual and fervent worship (cf. Isa. i. 11 ff.), so that we may even imagine the priests to have lost for awhile their mechanical and servile spirit. Accompanying the devoutness of the worshippers, and in accord with the reforming movement now for a while taken up seriously by king and court, came the composition and public recitation of hymns of thanksgiving. The noblest of these (Ps. xlvi.) was perhaps penned by Isaiah himself in the days of calm reflectiveness that followed the excitement of the siege and its vicissitudes. At any rate, it is the sublimated spirit of his contemporary prophecies, especially ch. xxxiii. The language of the hymn is universal and self-explaining.[1]

[1] The only allusion not perfectly obvious is that of v. 4: "There is a river whose rills make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tents of the Most High." It is to be explained by Isa. xxxiii. 21; cf. viii. 6 f. Jehovah himself is the protecting stream (cf. § 730). The little brook that fed the pool of Siloam, is more to Jerusalem than the great complex of rivers and canals to the cities of Assyria and Babylonia. The connection of Ps. xlviii. with the great event is not so obvious. To Ps. lxxvi. the Sept. prefixes "against the Assyrian," from the supposed reference of v. 5 f. to the destruction of the army of Sinacherib. There are also other coincidences; cf. v. 3 with xlvi. 9 and the tone and phraseology of the two Psalms generally. But an Aramaism in v. 6 of the Hebrew text points to a later composition. Probably Ps. lxxvi. is an echo of xlvi. and the prophetic spirit of its time, awakened by the fall of Nineveh; cf. Nah. iii. 18.

§ 732. The catastrophe on the border of Palestine (§ 704 ff.) was followed by a hasty march away from the seaboard, which had almost the aspect of a retreat. It is not difficult to conceive of the effect produced upon the superstitious mind of Sinacherib by the sudden and terrible infliction. Nor is it incredible that he should have traced the disaster to the intervention of Jehovah, who to him was the most powerful god of the West-land. For a time it had seemed to him, as to his versatile legate (2 K. xviii. 25), that Jehovah was on the side of the Assyrians — so complete had been his success in his invasion and devastation of Judah outside of the capital (§ 686). But well informed as he must have been of the occult and tremendous power behind the throne in Jerusalem, he found something awe-inspiring even in the resistance of the fore-doomed city. And so when the stroke fell in the unmistakable guise of a divine visitation (§ 707), it was inevitable that the God of Hezekiah and Isaiah should be accredited with the dire calamity. Sinacherib lived twenty years longer (§ 741); but it is doubtful whether any Assyrian expedition visited Palestine during the remainder of his reign. Certain it is that he never again came to the West-land in person, and we may well believe that henceforward the land was to him a place of evil omen.[1] We must add to this the phenomenal fact that Jerusalem, although a city marked out for destruction (§ 288), was never afterwards besieged by an Assyrian army (cf. § 801 ff.).

[1] The almost incredible effects of sudden surprise upon occupants of a strange land are doubtless to be traced to some such sentiment of superstitious awe. The god of the land (§ 58, 61) was invested with inalienable power, and an unexpected attack from any of his subjects would thus easily occasion panic dread. In this way we have to account largely for the victory of Abraham's band over the Elamites and their allies (Gen. xiv.), for that of Gideon's troops over the Midianites (Jud. vii.), and even for the repulse of the Philistines by Jonathan and his armour-bearer (1 S. xiv.). A night attack was naturally (cf. § 707) the most uncanny and deadly.

CHAPTER VII

SINACHERIB AND BABYLONIA

§ 733. Sinacherib's return to the east was probably accelerated by weighty causes apart from the disaster to his army and his disappointment at the survival of Jerusalem. Babylonia, after all, had a stronger interest for him than Palestine or Egypt. Besides, he had partly gained his ends by his memorable western expedition. His bitterest lasting disappointment was probably the successful resistance of Tyre (§ 680 ff.). Egypt, too, was scarcely ready to occupy, and in the meantime, though the unyielding capital remained unscathed, the country of Judah itself, the centre of danger, was damaged beyond speedy recovery, and the subjugation of the allied Philistian cities secured the route to the Isthmus. But in Babylonia affairs were not going at all to his liking; and his fear was that his newly assumed authority there (§ 673) should slip entirely out of his hands. As long as Merodach-baladan was alive, he apprehended peril and insecurity for his own dynasty; but the ambition and enterprise which had twice given that adventurer the throne of Babylon, and prestige and influence as far as the Mediterranean (§ 679), could only be quelled by his death or perpetual exile. The fourth campaign (B.C. 700)[1] of the Assyrian king was, therefore, partly directed against Bīt-Yākin, the ancestral country of the redoubtable Chaldæan (§ 340). On his way thither he found it expedient to make an attack on a neighbouring prince, Šuzub by name,

[1] Taylor Cylinder, III, 42 ff.

also a Chaldæan, a confederate of the great pretender, and a prospective claimant of the throne of Babylon to which, in fact, he at length attained (§ 739). In true Chaldæan fashion the obnoxious chieftain betook himself to flight; "nobody could see a trace of him."

§ 734. Contented with the temporary subjection of the marshes, which were the nursery[1] and the refuge of the race which he could defeat but never really conquer, Sinacherib marched on to Bīt-Yākin. What now took place may best be given in the words of the official Assyrian annalist, to whose formal and monotonous narrative unexpected dignity and pathos are lent by its heroic subject and his fate:[2] "I took the way to Bīt-Yākin. That Merodach-baladan, whose defeat I had accomplished in the course of my first expedition, and whose strength I had shattered, feared the clanging of my strong weapons and the mighty shock of my onset; he brought the gods of his whole land out of their shrines,[3] embarked them in ships, and, like a bird, fled to the city of Nagītu-in-the Fens,[4] which is washed by the sea. His brothers, his kindred, who had withdrawn from the seashore, along with the rest of his subjects, I brought away from the land of Bīt-Yākin, from out of the swamps and reeds, and made them my prisoners. His cities I razed and devastated and made like a wilderness." Of the fugitive nothing more is heard. When the Elamitic city of refuge was attacked by Sinacherib, six years later (§ 737 f.), no

[1] Another instance of a "fen country" breeding an heroic and unconquerable people; cf. Kingsley, *Hereward the Wake*, prelude. The Chaldæans, like the English of the Norman period, were subjected to endless indignities and cruelties by the Assyrian overlords, but like the English they at length came to their own again in unprecedented greatness.

[2] *Ibid.* III, 50–61.

[3] I R. 43, 8 f. contains the following important addition: "and gathered the bones of his ancestors out of their tombs." Evidently preparations had been made for a wholesale migration (cf. Gen. xlix. 29 ff.). It is, therefore, more than probable that the Assyrian account of the capture of his relatives and friends is greatly exaggerated.

[4] Cf. Par. 323 f. So called in distinction from another *Nagitu*.

report was made of Assyria's most stubborn foe. Doubtless he died as he had lived, surrounded by his ancestral gods, bequeathing a legacy of perpetual war against his country's oppressor, perhaps fondly imagining the rise and triumph of some mighty "goël," but hardly daring to dream of any such glorious empire as that which should be erected by Nebuchadrezzar the Chaldæan upon the ruins of Assyria.

§ 735. The South-Babylonian leaders could thus enjoy the protection of their ally the king of Elam, and while exiled in his territory they could further intrigue for the expulsion of the Assyrians. In Babylon itself Bēl-ibnī, the appointee of Sinacherib (§ 673), had proved anything but a docile administrator of a vassal state. He was now deposed, and the heir to the throne of Assyria, Asshur-nādin-šum, installed in his place. The peace of Babylonia was thus secured for several years, however irksome the less tolerant régime might be to the ancient priesthood and cultured aristocracy. The following years, till 696, were occupied with campaigns in Southern Armenia, and in Cilicia from the Gulf as far north as the border of Tabal (Tibarene). According to supplementary reports of Berossus, Sinacherib's progress in Cilicia was interfered with by an incursion of Greeks, whom he defeated after a severe struggle. He is also credited with having rebuilt the city of Tarsus (cf. vol. i, p. 290, note).

§ 736. Meanwhile Elam was being used by Chaldæan refugees as a base of operations upon Babylonia, now under Assyrian military rule. The favourite plan of action pursued by these men of the marshes was to swarm over the estuaries of the Rivers in their boats and, when not dislodged by the Assyrian garrisons, to reoccupy their old abodes, and thus gradually win back from foreign allegiance the land of their fathers. When attacked and pursued by the troops of Asshur, they found it an easy task to reach their secure retreats by familiar ways. The sequel also shows that most of the merchant vessels of

the Babylonian cities[1] must have been at the disposal of the patriotic freebooters, else Sinacherib would have availed himself of their aid. The Chaldæan colony across the Gulf, cut off from ordinary approach by the intervening territory of Elam, and continually strengthened by accessions of refugees, had become a serious menace to the Assyrian government, and must at all hazards be broken up. This was done by means of an ingenious undertaking carried out in 694 B.C. with the energy and pertinacity so characteristic of the Assyrian people. The plan and its execution illustrate at the same time the resources and organization of the empire better than any other single recorded action of the time.

§ 737. The wide-spread maritime activity of the Phœnician people, their enterprise, skill, and courage have been frequently referred to in this history (§ 66, 97, 206, 683). It was characteristic of the rulers of Assyria at the height of its power to utilize not only the products of its various subject states, but also the genius of their people. The West-land particularly had from time immemorial been spoiled of its costliest productions by the ruling dynasties of the East (§ 96, 99). The cedars of Lebanon and Amanus were found in every palace and temple of the great capitals. Modes of Syrian architecture were introduced by predecessors of Sinacherib,[2] of course under the direction of Syrian architects. Prisoners had been made of the maritime western peoples in great numbers in the preceding years. Phœnician sailors were familiar with the navigation of the Persian Gulf as well as of the Red Sea. Here was an opportunity of making a good use of these clever newly acquired servants of Asshur. They

[1] Some idea of the extent of the shipping interests of Babylonia may be gained from K. 4378 (AL[3] 88), Col. v, vi, where a list of the various kinds of vessels is given according to the place of building, form and style, or dedication to a particular deity; also of the parts of a ship. Cf. Isa. xliii. 14.

[2] Cf. § 341; Sarg. Cyl. 64; Khors. 162, etc.

were set to make ships for the Assyrian overlord, and then to man them. Nagītu, the asylum of the troublesome Chaldæan refugees, was inaccessible by land. They, and they alone, could be relied on to reach them by sea. "Lofty ships, after the model of their own country," were built on the Tigris, near Nineveh, and at Til-Barsip by the farthest western course of the Euphrates,[1] about seven hundred miles from the sea!

§ 738. When the ships had been made ready, they were brought down the Rivers to the shores of the Gulf. The sailors were sea-faring people, prisoners of war, according to Sinacherib, from Tyre, Sidon, and Cyprus. The troops were put on board not far from Babylon, while the king and his retinue marched along the bank. Here a novel and unexpected peril threatened the valiant "monarch of the four quarters of the world." Having made a camp for the body-guard a few miles from the sea close by the ships, he and his party were surprised by a flood-tide, which rose and submerged their tents, so that they were fain to take to the vessels. Here they had to stay five days and nights, "as it were in a great cage." After this experience the king had no mind to try personally either the shore or the sea route. The soldiers and sailors, however, after the priestly blessing had been given, and costly sacrifices of a golden ship and a golden fish had been made to Ea, the god of the deep, set bravely forth, arrived without mishap on the Elamitic side of the Gulf, took and plundered Nagītu, and sundry neighbouring settlements of the hated Chaldæans, brought away much booty and many prisoners, — but no Merodach-baladan! By this time, let us hope, he had laid his bones to rest

[1] See Par. 141, 263 f.; KGF. 199 f. Delitzsch (Par. 141) reminds us of the somewhat similar undertaking of Alexander the Great, who, for the conquest of Arabia, had ships made in Cyprus and Phœnicia, and carried overland in sections to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, whence they were brought on their natural element to Babylon: Arrian, vii, 19, 3; Strabo, xvi, 1, 11.

beside those of his ancestors (§ 734). The Great King, in his secure position above the highest flood-tide, welcomed back his trusty warriors and their spoil with his wonted self-complacency.[1]

§ 739. Thus one of the main obstacles to Assyrian predominance in Babylonia was taken out of the way. But there still remained the hereditary Elamitic foe, and most dangerous of all, the patriotic citizens in Babylon, Borsippa, and Akkad, embittered against Sinacherib and his house by the dread of national obliteration and the degradation of their stately worship. Whether the Great King had as able generals in Babylonia as in the West-land we do not know. In any case they seem to have left the eastern border insufficiently guarded. Scarcely had Sinacherib returned with his Chaldæan trophies to Nineveh, when (B.C. 694) the king of Elam overran North Babylonia, took possession of Sippar (§ 94), and put its inhabitants to the sword.[2] His next step was to dethrone Sinacherib's son, Asshurnādin-šum, and carry him off to Elam. In his place he set up a native Babylonian, Nergal-ušēzib by name, who without delay undertook to undo the late Assyrian achievements in the south. But he had not proceeded far on his way when he was overtaken by an Assyrian army from the north, made prisoner, and carried to the land of his captors. Šuzub[3] the Chaldæan (§ 733) now seized the opportunity and seated himself upon the throne of Babylon. As an enemy of the Assyrians he was as acceptable to the native patriots as one of their own fellow-citizens. Under him they enthusiastically joined their forces to those of the Elamites (692 B.C.), who themselves had in the short interval since 694 passed through two revolutions, and were now enjoying the rule of Umman-menanu, a man of talent

[1] This famous expedition is given most fully in III R. 12 f.

[2] For accurate information upon this and the subsequent events we are indebted to Bab. Chr. II 39 ff.

[3] Called in Bab. Chr. Mušēzib-Marduk. Either he made the change after coming to the throne, or the shorter name is an abbreviation.

and resolution.[1] His leadership of the allied forces was so successful that in a great battle fought at Ḫalule, on the banks of the Tigris (691 B.C.), he administered to Sinacherib a severe check,[2] if not a defeat, by which he was compelled to retire to Assyria, eager though he was to avenge the fate of his son and the usurpation of his authority.

§ 740. But the valiant Elamite was disabled by a stroke of paralysis in the spring of 689.[3] His protection of Babylon had, however, been so effective that the Great King did not venture to reclaim it for two years after the battle. Now that the land was deprived of its most powerful defender, Sinacherib descended upon it in vengeance and fury. In November of the same year Babylon was taken and its Chaldæan king carried to Nineveh. The treatment accorded to the doomed city has placed upon the record of Sinacherib its darkest blot. His vindictive cruelty was here only equalled by his almost incredible impiety. The sacred and venerable city was burned to ashes and levelled to the ground, its people remorselessly put to death or sent into captivity, and the waters of the Euphrates being turned upon its site, reduced it to a marshy waste. The destruction of Babylon by Sinacherib may be counted among the calamities of human history. For lack of detailed description the imagination must supply a picture of the horrors of the scene, and of the wanton and irreparable devastation and ruin. The monuments of literature, art, and science, the annals of temples[4] and dynas-

[1] An opinion which is perhaps confirmed by Sinacherib's statement (Taylor Cylinder, V, 21 f.), that "he had no sense or judgment."

[2] A defeat, according to Bab. Chr. III, 18, and the subsequent indications. It must also be regarded as in some measure confirmatory that Sinacherib describes the battle (V, 47–VI, 23) with a circumstantiality and boastfulness worthy of a Falstaff.

[3] Bab. Chr. III, 19 ff. He was deprived of the power of speech, but he did not die till eleven months later (III, 25); that is, after the capture of Babylon.

[4] Each of the great Babylonian temples, apart from its directly religious functions, was a huge business and scientific institution. With its

ties for thousands of years, the archives of ancient families, the records of treaties and of legal and business transactions, the military and astronomical reports, the chronological notices — all these, and numberless other treasures of Babylonian life, thought, and history, became the prey of a vengeful fury more destructive and infinitely less excusable than the vandalism of Kasshites or Elamites. Doubtless much that was of religious or historical value was rescued through the foresight and activity of officials. But this could only have been little compared with what fell a prey to the ruthless malignity of the narrow-minded conqueror.[1]

§ 741. Eight years more of life were vouchsafed to the devastator of Judah and Babylonia. Over the latter country he proclaimed himself absolute king[2] — the first Assyrian who claimed to rule there by the grace of Asshur and not by the grace of Bēl and Nebo (cf. § 341). We can form only a general conception of his régime, for no particulars are as yet made known to us. Nor are we much better informed as to his activity in other directions. An expedition to northern Arabia against a certain Hazael, which we learn of (§ 755) from his son Esarhaddon, was probably not conducted by him in person. The enterprise itself may have been undertaken in view of aggression from the side of Egypt, or with an eye to the subjection of that country, which was finally accomplished by his son and successor.[3] The closing years of his life were, we must believe, mainly

observatory and corps of observers and calculators, it was a centre of astrological and astronomical study. It was also a proprietor and manager of great and numerous properties, with a vast number of employees. "On the material side it must be conceived of as a combination of landed property and factory, while at the same time it was kept running as a bank, a depository of records, and business establishment generally." Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge* (1890), p. xviii.

[1] The taking of Babylon is described in the Bavian Inscription, lines 43 ff; and its ruin, by Esarhaddon the restorer, in I R. 49 Col. I, II.

[2] Bab. Chr. III, 28, says significantly: "Eight years there was no king in Babylon," that is, it was ruled directly from Nineveh.

[3] According to an ingenious hypothesis of Winckler (GBA. p. 254 f.; 256 ff.), the occurrences described in 2 K. xix. 3–37 are to be connected

occupied with architectural works, for the embellishment of Nineveh, his chosen residence, and the erection and restoration of temples to his gods — a work which claimed the constant care of every Assyrian monarch in the intervals of his military campaigns and especially in the later years of his reign. Insurrections of a minor character were left to be settled by his generals. It is possible that his natural self-confidence made him careless as to the success of attempts against his person and authority. However this may be, his life and tyranny were brought to a sudden end on the 20th of Ṭebet (December), 681 B.C., by a conspiracy and insurrection headed by two of his sons.

§ 742. Sinacherib, on account of his prominent place in Old Testament history, is the best known to moderns of all the kings of Assyria. His character and disposition, base, harsh, and cruel to the last degree, give a fair indication of the tendencies of unlimited power under a military régime in a semi-barbaric age. Yet Assyria, as a nation, was capable of some progress in other spheres of thought and activity than those of mere material interest; and Sinacherib had no part in raising it above the level to which it had been brought by his great predecessors of the century that closed with his accession. He showed, indeed, some appreciation of art, at least in its utilitarian applications. His new canals and aqueducts[1] were numerous and beneficent. His two palaces[2] on the western side of Nineveh were larger and handsomer than any which had as yet adorned the city. The more southerly, an arsenal and barracks, built of hewn stone, followed the

with this expedition. That is to say, the second part of the Biblical narrative has to do with occurrences which took place after the fall of Babylon in 689 and not in 701. The assumption is supported by some plausible arguments; but apart from other difficulties in the way of its acceptance, it is hard for us to believe that facts of history, which were so notorious among all educated circles in Israel, could have been wilfully and publicly so distorted by the sacred writers.

[1] Bavian Inscription, lines 6 ff.

[2] Taylor Cylinder, VI, 33 ff.; Constantinople Cyl. (I R. 44), lines 55 ff.

Syrian style of architecture, which his father had also favoured (§ 737). These structures could not compete in grandeur or in wealth of sculptural embellishment with the magnificent palace erected by Sargon at Khorsabad (§ 667). But they were notable in the upbuilding of the city which was to become the greatest repository of Assyrian civilization.

§ 743. Other illustrations of his devotion to Nineveh wholly repel our sympathy. His policy of centralism, narrow, illiberal, and reactionary, was carried out not only with remorseless cruelty, but with injurious results to his own proper kingdom, which he sought to aggrandize. His treatment of Babylonia resembles in one of its aspects the policy pursued by the present Sultan of Turkey towards his Christian subjects. In another it reminds us of that followed by Louis XIV towards the Protestants of France. It was disastrous to the oppressed and outraged people; but it also reacted disastrously upon himself and his own administration. What Assyria needed most was the refining and softening influence of intellectual culture and of genial manners. She stood now at the point of time most favourable for the introduction of milder influences, when the new empire, welded together by the force and wisdom of his predecessors, might have been consolidated on the basis of a just and enlightened government. Instead of utilizing the artistic skill and the scientific knowledge of the Babylonians, he discouraged and repelled them. Instead of seeking to conciliate that ancient nationality, which controlled the gateways to the sea and claimed the intellectual homage of the world, and so forming an august united empire, he alienated from Assyria the elements that were indispensable to its permanent strength and safety. The two great divisions of the eastern Semites were henceforth irreconcilable. Babylonia could not be brought to tolerate Assyrian leadership. And though the wise son and successor of Sinacherib reversed this wicked and suicidal

policy, its moral effect was never obliterated. When two generations later Assyria's hour was come, the Chaldæans took their share in the terrible work of vengeance.

§ 744. Mean and unworthy as were the parties and the issues, the death of Sinacherib rises almost to the dignity of tragedy. The scene and the action, if not moving, have at least a fascination of their own as an illustration of the ways and fates of Oriental royalty. The king is alone at prayer in the chapel which he has erected for his patron god. For with all his self-glorification he is a humble votary of the deities of Nineveh, and especially of Nusku,[1] the devastating war-god in whom he sees his own fond likeness. Two of his sons, Nergal-šar-uṣur[2] and Adarmalik, one of them a pretended heir to the throne and the other his instrument, have been stirring up an insurrection in Nineveh. They now take the opportunity of settling the whole matter of the succession by striking down the old man when bowing before his god.[3] Poetic justice was thus meted out. But justice does not always nicely choose its instruments; and the cause of the young assassins rightly failed to command success.

[1] So read, instead of the unintelligible *Nisrok* of the Massoretic text of 2 K. xix. 37. The insertion in the word of ו, as accidental repetition of the final consonant ך, is responsible for this very old error. The identification with Nusku was, I think, first proposed by Halévy.

[2] The Biblical form Sharezer is a common contraction. Bab. Chr. III, 34 f., speaks of only one son as the assassin.

[3] An inconsiderate reading of 2 K. xix. 37 would create the impression that Sinacherib's death must have occurred very soon after his retirement from Palestine instead of twenty years later. And so Winckler (GBA. 258; cf. § 741, note) uses the passage as evidence in favour of the hypothesis that such was actually the case. But, according to the fashion of Hebrew narrative, which marked but slightly historical cause and effect (cf. § 435), the juxtaposition only means that his death was a worthy sequel to his life, which the foregoing episode had duly characterized.

CHAPTER VIII

ESARHADDON, BABYLONIA, AND EGYPT

§ 745. The revolt, of which the murder of the king was the critical episode, was not in itself unwelcome to the people. Hence the leaders found themselves for a time at the head of a large following. But they soon had to reckon with a stronger rival. Esarhaddon (*Asshur-aḫ-iddin:* "Asshur has given a brother") was, as the name implies, not the eldest, but probably the second son of the royal house. The original heir to the throne had been carried off by the Elamites (§ 739) thirteen years before, and Esarhaddon, as the destined successor, had for some time borne a share in the administration of the empire. His career and general policy as a monarch show that he had been subjected to more humanizing influences than those which had controlled his father. His generous treatment of Babylonia, and his keen interest in its affairs, suggest that he had had a prolonged residence in that province, and that he may have been its administrator. It is not clear, however, where or how he was employed when the news of the insurrection reached him.[1] In all probability, however, he was in the northwestern portion of the Assyrian dominions maintaining order in the turbulent provinces of that region. As the subject is of Biblical as well as Assyriological importance, a sketch of the situation and its issue will not be out of place.

[1] Winckler, GBA. p. 335, remarks that according to Bab. Chr., Esarhaddon was proclaimed king in Babylonia immediately after the death of Sinacherib. But the Chronicle makes no statement to this effect.

§ 746. 2 K. xix. 37 (cf. § 744) says of the young assassins after the murder of Sinacherib: "they escaped to the land of Armenia; and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead." This brief notice, given in the concise style which marks all the Biblical allusions to extra-Israelitish affairs, is of essential value in the reconstruction of the story. The Babylonian Chronicle also gives us data of importance for the leading motives of the revolution:[1] "In the month of Ṭebet, the XX. day, Sinacherib king of Assyria, his son in an insurrection slew him. XXIII. years Sinacherib administered the kingdom[2] of Assyria. From the XX. day of the month Ṭebet until the II. day of the month Adar the insurrection in Assyria held together. In the month of Sivan, the XVIII. day, Esarhaddon his son seated himself in Assyria upon the throne." The new king's own report of the action taken by him is as follows:[3] "Like a lion I raged; and my soul[4] was in a tumult. To administer the kingdom of my father's house, to take charge of my priesthood, towards Asshur, Sin, Šamaš, Bel, Nebo, and Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, and Ishtar of Arbela, my hands I lifted, and they deferred to my words. In their faithful grace an encouraging token they sent to me: 'Go! Do not stop! At thy side we are marching, and we shall subdue thy enemies.' For one day and ten days I halted not.[5] I did not see the faces of my troops. I did not look backwards. The trappings of the horses harnessed to the yoke, and my arms and accoutrements,[6] I did not undo.[7] My travelling . . . I did not pour out (?). The snow and ice of the month

[1] Bab. Chr. III, 34–38.

[2] The regular expression for "reigned."

[3] III R. 15, 2 ff.; cf. AL^3, I17, etc. See Note I6 in Appendix.

[4] Literally, "my liver."

[5] Literally, "I did not look around"; cf. Lotz, *Tiglathpileser I*, p. 112 f.

[6] Literally, "my utensils for battle."

[7] The original, by transposition of wedge-combinations, has the impossible form *a-šu-šur* instead of *a-suḫ*.

Šabaṭ, and the might of the frost I did not fear. Like a *sisīn* bird with outspread wings to overthrow my enemies I stretched out my hands. The way towards Nineveh hard and fast I marched. Facing me in the land of Ḫanirabbat, the whole of their doughty warriors took their stand to oppose my march, and drew out their weapons. The fear of the great gods my lords overwhelmed them: they beheld the shock of my mighty onset, and they became like beaten men. Ishtar, who presides over war and battle, who loves my priesthood, stood by my side, broke their bow,[1] and shattered their serried array. Through all their ranks they said: 'Let that man be our king.' At her august command they came over to my side and said . . ."

§ 747. Only the Biblical account mentions the "escape" of the assassins to Armenia. The phrase evidently points to the final result of the civil war. For according to the "Chronicle" the insurgents held their own in Nineveh for about a month and a half, which they could not have done if their leaders had taken flight at once after the murder. It was, however, five months (from Ṭebet or December, 681, to Sivan or May, 680) after the death of the old king, that Esarhaddon was proclaimed in Nineveh. We must accordingly assume that the loyal party in Nineveh or their troops in the neighbourhood succeeded in suppressing the revolt in the city itself by the second of Adar (February, 680), but that Esarhaddon was so busily occupied with the uprisings outside of Assyria proper that he was only free to enter the city in peace after three months of further action in the field. His own report speaks of his setting out towards Nineveh, and then after a forced march in the snows and frosts of January, meeting the enemy in northern Cappadocia (where "Chanirabbat" was situated). It is thus apparent that the rebels had their plans carefully laid, and had spread the disaffection throughout the North Mesopotamian country over which Esarhaddon had to march. The success of the legitimate claimant was accel-

[1] Cf. Ps. xlvi. 9; lxxvi. 3.

erated by the desertion to his side of at least a large portion of the insurgent army. And it was probably the news of his victory that caused the collapse of the revolt in the capital. Whether the pretender and his brother were in the defeated army or not, they would in any case find the way to Armenia open for their retreat. Moreover, a sympathetic people in that region would give them aid and comfort. The reader will remember the alliances between the northeastern and northwestern districts of the Assyrian sphere of influence, which were broken by Sargon after strenuous exertions (§ 626 ff.). The heroic struggles of the Armenians doubtless lingered in the memory of the older generation, and the younger patriots were not loath to attempt a renewal of the strife with the help of Assyrian outlaws. That the conflict in Armenia was at any time doubtful is hardly probable. But Esarhaddon naturally improved the opportunity to fasten securely the bonds that had been relaxed under Sinacherib. Thus the time was occupied until he could safely assume the crown in Nineveh.

§ 748. The comparatively brief reign of Esarhaddon (681[1]–668 B.C.) was memorable for two great events: the rehabilitation of Babylonia and the annexation of Egypt. To the former task the new king applied himself as to a labour of love. His twelve years were filled with important action, but he never lost sight of the claims of Babylon upon his attention and care, and of the duty laid upon him to undo, as far as might be, the ruin and misery wrought by his father. As soon as he was firmly settled upon the throne he began the work of restoration. The state of

[1] Strictly speaking, from the beginning of January, 680. The Babylonian (and Hebrew) year begins with the spring equinox in Nisan (March–April) and ends with Adar (February–March). Ṭebet, the tenth month, on the twentieth day of which Sinacherib died, would correspond to December–January. A similar variation of notation occurs in the dating of Sargon's accession (cf. § 358 in the third edition), whose reign, strictly speaking, began with January of 721. We reckon Esarhaddon's reign from the death of his father, although legally there was no king on the throne till May, 680.

things as he found them in Babylon may be described in the graphic language which distinguishes his inscriptions above those of all his predecessors:[1] "Esarhaddon, king of all peoples, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Shumer and Akkad, the exalted prince, who adores Nebo and Merodach. Before my time, under the government of a former king in Shumer and Akkad, hostile powers had . . . the inhabitants of Babylon . . . had laid violent hands on Bīt-elū,[2] the temple of the gods, and had sent gold and silver and precious stones as blackmail to Elam.[3] Then Merodach, the lord of the gods, was angry, and resolved to lay waste the land and to destroy its people. The canal Araḫtu . . . like a deluge it came over the city, its dwellings and its sacred shrines, and made them like waste land. The gods and goddesses that dwelt therein went aloft to the heavens.[4] The people that dwelt therein were portioned out for the yoke and fetter, and went into exile. XI[5] years, the (mystical) number of his own exaltation, had the merciful Merodach prescribed. His spirit was depressed and dull; he stood humbled, for he had for XI years dismantled its dwelling-places. Me, Esarhaddon, to restore these buildings to their place, thou hast invoked from among all my brothers."

§ 749. The pious king then goes on[6] to ascribe to the patron god of Babylon his triumph over his rivals and enemies in Assyria. "To soothe the heart of thy great godhead and to tranquillize thy soul, thou didst invest me

[1] In the Black Stone Inscription (III R. 49), col. I and II; cf. § 740.

[2] See note to § 749.

[3] The reference is to Šuzub the Chaldæan (692 B.C.; § 739). Esarhaddon wishes to spare the memory of his father and so diminish the odium of his own dynasty in Babylonia.

[4] That is, they abandoned the earth because their seats, which were inseparable from their divine functions (§ 57, 61), were destroyed. So in the Deluge story (line 108) it is said that the gods ascended from the desolated earth to the heaven of Anu, or the highest heaven.

[5] "Eleven" is the symbolic number representative of Merodach, as, for example, "fifteen" symbolizes Ishtar.

[6] III R. 49, col. III, IV.

with the sovereignty of Assyria." In the first year of his reign he proceeded to the work. In addition to his own soldiers he made a levy of workmen from all Babylonia. To encourage the toilers,[1] he himself wore the labourer's cap, the badge of servile employment. After a description of the preparations and the materials he enthusiastically concludes: "Bīt-elū, the temple of the gods, and its sacred shrines:[2] Babylon, the protected city,[3] Imgur-Bēl its wall, Nēmid-Bēl[4] its rampart, from their foundation to their summit I built up anew, I made greater, loftier, and more imposing. The images of the great gods I renewed, and placed them in their sanctuaries. I fixed in perpetuity the due amount of their revenue which had fallen in abeyance. The sons of Babylon who had gone into exile, and had been portioned out for the yoke and fetter, I gathered together and I reckoned them as Babylonian citizens. Its rights as a protected state I established anew."

§ 750. There is something very impressive in the devotion of the son of Sinacherib to the country and city which his father had oppressed and desolated. It was a masterstroke of policy that, in relinquishing the despotic control which Sinacherib had exercised, he should have called himself, like his great grandfather, merely the vicegerent of Babylon. Nothing could have so greatly tended to restore the self-respect of the outraged people as the supreme enthronement of their national gods and the ac-

[1] Also to show them that he, as well as they, owed service to their common lords, the gods of Babylon.

[2] The name of this famous temple of Merodach (cf. § 117) I still write *Bīt-elū*, in spite of the correct statement of Jensen in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, No. 20, 1895, in his review of vol. i of the present work, to the effect that *Esak(k)ila* was a current pronunciation. The analogy of *Bīt-kēnu* confirms the view that *Bīt-elū* was also used. Both forms are good Semitic; see note to § 117.

[3] That is, the city that is under the special tutelage and care of Esarhaddon. Cf. Del. AHW. *s. v. kidīnu*.

[4] The names of the two famous walls of Babylon. *Imgur-Bēl*, the inner wall, means "Bēl is propitious"; *Nēmid-Bēl*, the outer, probably "the station of Bēl."

knowledgment by their suzerain that he too owed all his rights among them to the grace of Nebo and Merodach. He was doubtless also sincerely convinced of the rightful supremacy of these deities, and it is more than probable that he attributed his father's ill-omened ending to their just vengeance for the impiety that deposed and banished them from their sacred seats. The effect of the restoration of Babylon and its temples, its defences, its trade, its manufactures, and its schools, was of inestimable importance. Henceforward Nineveh looked to Babylon for intellectual culture and inspiration, while Babylon expected from Nineveh protection guaranteed by religious homage. Of the country as a whole Babylon was the centre. If we wish to picture to ourselves what Babylonia was during the eleven years of Merodach's humiliation, we may think of England, with London reduced to ashes and the diverted waters of the Thames overflowing its site.

§ 751. The eleven years of Babylon's desolation extended from 689 B.C. (§ 740) till 678. The renovation of the city, or at least of the walls and the temples, must therefore have occupied the greater portion of the first two years of the reign of Esarhaddon.[1] But this did not exhaust his activity during that period. Most of his reign was occupied with wars outside of Babylonia, mainly intended to conserve the bounds of the empire as it was fixed by Sargon. In Babylonia itself, while busied with the work of restoration, he had, though but for a brief interval, to repel encroachments from the side of the Chaldæans. The sons of the great Merodach-baladan had inherited their father's ambition and patriotism. One of them took the throne in Bīt-Yākin. Upon learning of the death of Sin-

[1] We must not suppose, however, that within this period the task was finished. All that Esarhaddon could do was to see the work so well brought forward that its completion could be left to others. He was content with making the city habitable and secure. Even the great temple of Merodach was not made fit for the reception of Bēl and the other gods of Babylon until after his death, when they were brought back with great pomp and ceremony.

acherib, he organized an expedition for the deliverance of the south-country from the hated régime. He succeeded in regaining the lost territory as far north as Ur. But in 679 he retired before an army of Esarhaddon, and fled to Elam. Here he was put to death by the king of that country, opposed though all the rulers of Elam were to the Assyrian conquerors. Another brother made peace with Esarhaddon, and in accordance with the new policy of conciliation, he was appointed to rule over his hereditary domains for the Assyrian over-lord.[1] He became a faithful vassal, and the long strife between the Chaldæans of the south-land and the empire of the Tigris was suspended for nearly a generation.

§ 752. Other difficulties which arose in the settlement of Babylonian affairs were of a minor character, and their speedy adjustment tended to augment the general tranquillity. Even with Elam, the consistent opponent of Assyria's intervention in Babylonia, Esarhaddon succeeded after a few years in establishing a *modus vivendi*. The king who, strangely enough, had put to death the fugitive son of Merodach-baladan in 679, made a murderous raid upon the ill-fated city of Sippar in 674 (cf. § 739). But on his death in the following year his successor made peace with the ruling power in Babylonia in the way most expressive of propitiation and good-will. He sent back to the city of Akkad, which was still a religious centre, if not a distinct community (§ 94), images of Ishtar and other deities which had been taken thence to Elam.[2]

§ 753. These, however, were matters left to be settled without the personal intervention of Esarhaddon, who trusted to the new policy in the southeast to work out its own beneficent results. The time at length seemed pro-

[1] Bab. Chr. III, 39 ff.; I R. 45 (Cyl. A), col. II, 32 ff.; III R. 15 (Broken Cylinder B), col. II, 1 ff.

[2] The diplomatic significance of this event is indicated by its being recorded in the brief Babylonian Chronicle, with the exact date (tenth of Adar). See Col. IV, 9, 17 f.

pitious for settling the long-neglected affairs of the West-land. Here the Phœnician states first claimed his attention. How pressing was the need of his intervention may be inferred from the fact that he had been less than two years upon the throne when he relinquished the over-sight of Babylonia, and headed an expedition against Tyre and Sidon. The latter city had been made by Sinacherib an object of peculiar care. It had been his policy to aggrandize and strengthen it as a rival to Tyre, whose subjection he had vainly sought to accomplish in 701 B.C. (§ 680 ff.). Sidon had indeed performed good service for Assyria during the years that followed the expedition of that memorable year; for, as has been pointed out (§ 683), the five years' war against Tyre could only have been carried on by Phœnician cities, ships, and sailors, of whom Sidon took the lead. The unnatural vassalage had since been foresworn, and the ancient rival of Tyre was now to be found arrayed with her against the common taskmaster. But its sturdy independence could not now be longer maintained. It soon fell before the attack of Esarhaddon (678 B.C.). Thus the reviving hope of the return of its ancient splendour, which had been inspired by the favouring policy of one Assyrian king was quenched by the resentment of his successor. While Assyria remained an empire, Sidon appeared no longer even among the tributary states. In its place a new city was erected and named "Esarhaddonsburg."[1]

§ 754. But Tyre remained what it long had been, not merely the leading Phœnician state in wealth and enterprise, but a stubborn obstacle to the vast designs of the Assyrian kings. Expecting a prolonged resistance, Esarhaddon contented himself with a land blockade and postponed the regular siege till he had got well under way the expedition to Egypt. By this undertaking he was to assert most signally the supremacy of Asshur, and at the same time

[1] The capture of Sidon and (in 675) of its fugitive king are related in V R. 45 (Cyl. A) col. I, 10 ff. For the dates see Bab. Chr. IV, 3, 6.

to fix the extreme western limit of his march of conquest. To make the descent upon Egypt more certain of success, two preliminary enterprises were undertaken. These were both directed against the nomads of the desert of Arabia, and Esarhaddon in his reports seems to lay as great stress upon his success among these people as upon the conquest of Egypt itself. Two elements in his achievement were of special significance. One was his overcoming the enormous difficulties of a desert march. He describes the long and toilsome journey, the heat and drought, the terrible monsters who infested his route. This achievement was characteristically Assyrian, and indicative of the unconquerable spirit of enterprise and endurance which had created the empire of the Tigris out of mountains and wildernesses as well as valleys and fruitful fields. The other and the principal ground of self-gratulation was the fact that by these ventures the Great King made himself master of the regions which served as a recruiting ground for Egypt, and were the home of tribes ready for fray and foray on the borders of Assyrian territory. These desert campaigns enable us to understand better the persistent attempts of Tiglathpileser (§ 334), Sargon (§ 630), and Sinacherib (§ 741; cf. § 706) to control the peninsula of Sinai and northern Arabia generally.

§ 755. Esarhaddon, with the largeness of aim peculiarly his own, and knowing the mobility and restlessness of the sons of the desert,[1] determined to render all Arabia harmless and, if possible, friendly to him in his government of the west. The first expedition (675 B.C.) was directed against certain troublesome tribes in the interior of Arabia,[2]

[1] Illustrated, for example, by the invaders of Palestine in the days of Gideon (Jud. vi.). We must not suppose that these were "Midianites" alone, though they were doubtless the moving spirits by whom intermediate tribes were pushed onwards, like the Hyksos of the olden time in Egypt (§ 136 f.).

[2] I R. 46, col. III, 25 ff. For the date see Bab. Chr. IV, 5: "In the fifth year on the second day of Teshrit (September) the king of Assyria took the road to the desert."

east and southeast of the Gulf of Akaba.[1] According to the official record he "marched over 140 double-leagues of desert ground with thickets and gazelle-mouth stones, 20 double-leagues of serpents and scorpions, which covered the earth like grasshoppers," besides 20 miles of stony mountain territory. The other campaign was executed in 674, and had for its object the reduction of the Sinaitic peninsula.[2] It was successfully accomplished by the submission of the tribes; and the surrender of their leader, Hazael, king of the "Arabs," who had submitted to Sinacherib (§ 741), was further instrumental in clearing the way for Esarhaddon in his designs against Egypt. Knowing the reasonable and conciliatory disposition of the Assyrian monarch, he entreated him to restore his national and tribal palladium, the gods which had been taken from him by his predecessor. The request was granted. The heart of the doubly bereaved king was also made glad by the release of the princess Tabua, who was raised to royal rank along with Hazael.[3] An important additional result of all these transactions was to deprive Egypt not only of her former allies, but also of much of her lucrative trade (cf. § 334).

[1] Bāzu, the principal point of attack, is identified by Delitzsch, Par. 307, with the "Būz" (more probably *Bōz*) of the Bible, the birthplace of Elihu, Job xxxii. 2; cf. Jer. xxv. 23 and Gen. xxii. 21. Ḫazū, the mountain land above referred to, is identified by him with "Hazo" of Gen. xxii. 22. These districts are located by Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, II, 265 ff. (1890), in the region of Yemāma.

[2] "Melūcha," the objective point, is (cf. Winckler, GBA. 265) a designation for northwestern Arabia. The most striking evidence is that with Magan (which, it is agreed on all hands, stands for Northeast Arabia) it is used as an equivalent of North Arabia generally; *e.g.* V R. 1, 52; cf. § 96.

[3] This double royalty is thought by Winckler to "put the phenomenon of female sovereignty in its right light" (GBA. p. 267). It is more likely, however, that this and the similar usage referred to by him as existing among the Nabatæans, represent the transition stage between a sole female reign as a survival of the primitive matriarchate and a sole male reign (cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 104, 171). The prevalence of a supreme queenship throughout the Arabian desert from Palmyra to Sheba cannot be accounted for on the hypothesis of an extension of the royal functions from king to queen. See in general § 423 and cf. § 334.

§ 756. "In the seventh year on the fifth day of Adar the troops of Assyria marched into Egypt." "In the tenth year in the month Nisan the troops of Assyria marched against Egypt."[1] So run the notices of the Babylonian chronicler. The expedition of the end of 673 was apparently soon abandoned as premature after crossing the border. But in 670 the decisive movement was made. The same Tirhaka, who had taken part in the events of 701 (§ 693 f.), was still at the head of this Ethiopian twenty-fifth dynasty. Thus, even if pretexts for a justifiable invasion had been wanting, the attack upon the troops of Sinacherib could be cited. As the sequel shows, Esarhaddon did, in fact, treat the Egyptians as an old and inveterate foe. We may fairly assume that they were giving aid and comfort to the Phœnician insurgents. Though not fully informed of the details of the campaign, we are able to time the principal stages and events. Leaving Nineveh in Nisan, Esarhaddon reached Palestine early in Sivan (May–June). After reconnoitering before Tyre (§ 754), he mustered his troops at Aphek, near Samaria, for the invasion. Raphia, near the River of Egypt, the conventional boundary of Egypt, is noted as one of the stations. The first battle was fought at Ischupri on Egyptian soil.[2] The march thence to Memphis occupied fifteen days[3] — an undue length of time, which implies steady resistance by the retreating Tirhaka to the Assyrian advance. Battles were fought on the third, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth of Tammuz (June–July). On the twenty-second,[4] Memphis was taken after a siege of half a day.[5] The famous old city was plundered and

[1] Bab. Chr. IV, 16, 23. Notice the accuracy with which the crossing of the Egyptian border (the "River of Egypt") was recorded.

[2] K. 3082; 3086; S. 2027. See Budge, *Hist. of Esarhaddon*, p. 114 ff.

[3] Stele of Sinjirli.

[4] The Bab. Chr. IV, 26 says "the twelfth," but this is probably a scribal error.

[5] Bab. Chr. IV, 24 ff. Stele of Sinjirli.

destroyed, while Tirhaka fled to his Ethiopian father-land. The whole of Lower and Upper Egypt now submitted without a blow. A thoroughly Assyrian administration was introduced, though in such a fashion as not entirely to quench patriotic self-respect. Native Egyptians, who had been in most cases viceroys under Tirhaka (cf. § 347 f.), were appointed to rule nominally with direct responsibility to the Great King. But the real administrators were the Assyrian officials,[1] who were in constant and close communication with the Ninevite court.

§ 757. It is passing strange that the great warrior and statesman before whom fell, after a brief campaign, the empire of the Nile, should have been baffled by the resistance of a single city. But true it is, that Tyre could not be reckoned among the Assyrian conquests till after the death of Esarhaddon. Certainly the blockade (§ 754) was strictly maintained. But through the nature of its plan of defence which Sinacherib had found too hard to overcome (§ 683), it was long in a position to defy its besiegers. The island city, though cut off from its proper territory on the mainland, could obtain supplies from its colonies, through its command of an element whose possession was destined to remain an unrealized dream of Assyrian ambition. Esarhaddon, indeed, or an obsequious artist, has left a monumental representation[2] of a triumph over Ba'al, the Tyrian king. But his inscriptions more truthfully omit the name of Tyre from the list of vassals. This memorial of Esarhaddon's western campaigns is appropriately set up at the meeting-place of the south and

[1] Essential information as to the Assyrian administration we obtain from references of Asshurbanipal, V R. 1 and 2.

[2] On the stele of Sinjirli, where Ba'al is exhibited as kneeling before Esarhaddon and begging for mercy, with a ring through his lips, attached to a cord in the hands of the Great King. Tirhaka also, who escaped to Ethiopia (§ 756), is represented in a similar attitude. Cf. Winckler, GBA. p. 264. Probably these figures aimed at setting forth what was potentially correct; namely, that Esarhaddon was able to put them in that situation if he only had the opportunity!

the north, and thus faithfully symbolizes his authority and the range of his dominion.

§ 758. In defending and maintaining his northern boundary, Esarhaddon achieved a success not the least among the triumphs of his brilliant career. The enemy that threatened from the north were the far-famed Kimmerians — to name them according to the spelling of the Greek authors.[1] They are rightly described by Herodotus[2] as having lived north of the Black Sea, whence they had been dislodged by the Scythians. Late in the eighth century B.C. they descended, probably over the Caucasus, into Armenia. Thence they spread southeastward and westward and came within the Assyrian sphere of influence, where they were known as *Gimirrē*. Thus, also, they came to the knowledge of the Bible writers, who have spoken of them as *Gomer*[3] (Gen. x. 2 f.; 1 Chr. i. 5 f.; Ez. xxxviii. 6; Sept. Γαμερ). They were of Indo-European race,[4] and were apparently aware of kinship with the Medians (*Madai*); for in their southeastern division they allied themselves with the latter, along with the people of Van (*Mannai*).[5] There seems to be no doubt

[1] These were long known to the Greeks; for the myth which ascribed to them an abode in darkness beyond the bounds of the ocean (Od. xi. 14) is based upon the fact of their residence beyond the Euxine.

[2] i. 15, 104; iv. 11, 12. Among the many identifications that have been made, we may leave aside the *Cimbri* and the *Cymry*, and retain the local reminiscence perpetuated in the *Crimea*.

[3] These people have naturally attracted much attention from scholars. Besides the comments on the Bible passages, the most notable discussions are ZDMG. XXIV, 79, 82; XXVI, 689; Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 254; *Mittheilungen*, I, 227; *Armenische Studien*, § 448; Delitzsch, Par. 245 f.; Hommel, GBA. 721 ff.; Tiele, GAB. 334 f.; Winckler, GBA. 267 ff.; Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, 78 ff.; *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 123 ff.

[4] And so named in Gen. x. among the sons of Japhet, along with the Lydians, Medes, Ionians, and Thracians. In Ezekiel they are spoken of as nomads, and, perhaps, also by Esarhaddon himself in I R. 45, col. II, 6, who refers to their king Teūšpā as a "*Manda* (Scythian) warrior whose home is remote."

[5] S. 2005 and K. 4668, transcribed in Sayce, *Babyl. Lit. l.c.*

about the general locality of this *rendezvous*, since we know that the Medians were settling to the east and northeast of Assyria proper (§ 248, 311), and that the Mannai[1] dwelt on the western shore of Lake Urmia.

§ 759. Here, then, we have a combination of kindred tribesmen bearing down upon the ancient civilizations of the south, a forerunner of more formidable inroads yet to come. The apprehension excited in Nineveh by this new enemy appearing where Assyria's hardest struggles had always been waged was quite extraordinary. For one hundred days the priests were bidden to sacrifice and pray for their defeat. It would seem that the supplications were answered, for it is apparently to the same critical juncture that the Babylonian chronicler refers when he says of the fourth year of Esarhaddon: "The Gimirrē came into Assyria, and in Assyria they were defeated."[2] The reference here, of course, is to the Assyrian territory in the wider sense, which was held to extend northward to the Lakes. Evidently the dreaded foe had come well over the border. It is very improbable that the western division of these undesirable immigrants came directly into contact with the Assyrians under Esarhaddon.[3] Their time for action had not yet come. But they helped to make the northwest provinces still more lax in their attachment to the empire of the Tigris. On the whole, their significance was rather premonitory than direct and immediate. It is plain that Esarhaddon had measured their potential capacity for mischief and found their appearance upon the scene anything but reassuring.

[1] The "Minni" of Jer. li. 27, where they are also closely associated with the Medes.

[2] Bab. Chr. IV, 2. The name of the enemy is supplied by the acute suggestion of Winckler.

[3] It has been supposed (*e.g.* Par. 245) that the defeat of the Kimmerians mentioned by Esarhaddon in I R. 45 (cf. note 4 preceding) was inflicted in Cappadocia. But *Ḫubušna* there mentioned must be an error for *Ḫubuškia* in the northern border of Assyria proper — a confirmation, in fact, of the situation as made out for the struggle in the east.

§ 760. There is nothing more striking or instructive in all Oriental history than the situation which we are now contemplating. After incredible toil and sacrifice Assyria has arrived at the summit of her power. Her wise and strenuous king has profited by all the errors of the past. He has introduced a larger and surer method of government, conciliated the disaffected, consolidated the old possessions, and added to the realm the most valuable of all the known regions of the earth. And just as he is laying the capstone upon the colossal structure, the work of undermining the foundation begins. True, the empire endures for sixty years longer, and for a great portion of that period Assyria is still in its pride (Zech. x. 11). But mark that it maintains itself only by its superiority to the older enfeebled races of the south. It is of little permanent moment that in its forward march the line of least resistance follows the valley of the Nile. Its hold upon the stubborn north, now being perpetually reinforced by bands of sturdy aliens from beyond the inland seas, is gradually relaxed. Another expedition[1] against the remoter northeast availed at least for the spoiling and intimidation of the Median confederates. But the waves thus rolled back returned again stronger than before, the precursors of the long lines of breakers which were at length to submerge the last defences of the outworn and exhausted empire.

§ 761. The suppression of a conspiracy in Nineveh in 669[2] and a final expedition to Egypt in 668 bring to a close the active career of Esarhaddon. The last-named enterprise cost him his life. According to the chronicler, "In the twelfth year the king of Assyria marched against Egypt. Upon the way he took sick, and in the month Marchesvan, on the tenth day, he died." His few years of sovereignty were full of action, crowned with rare success.

[1] I R. 46, col. IV, 8 ff.; III R. 16, col. IV, 1 ff.

[2] Bab. Chr. IV, 29: "In the eleventh year the king (remained) in Assyria. Many nobles he put to death with the sword."

He left his vast dominions with a fairer show of prosperity and safety than the Assyrian realm had ever presented at the demise of any of his predecessors. What is perhaps of most significance is the fact that within the Semitic domain — the true province of a united government — no grave insurrections were set on foot. Only such communities were as yet intractable which enjoyed a means of escape from the soldiers of Asshur. The Tyrians had an outlet to the sea; the Arabs to the desert. The West-land was in his days at last entirely quiescent. Time and unrelaxing pressure had there done the work which had before been wrought throughout Syria (§ 294, 307, 335), and earlier still in Mesopotamia (§ 178 f., 218). "Manasseh of Judah" (§ 798 ff.), the son of the rebel Hezekiah, was among his voluntary vassals, along with the rulers of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, Gaza, Askalon, Ekron, Ashdod, and the princes of Phœnicia, all of whom he could summon to furnish materials for the building of his palaces.[1]

§ 762. In the intervals of his campaigns Esarhaddon also found time to illustrate his taste for art and architecture. The great rebuilding of Babylon (§ 749) was at least inaugurated under his general direction. His own city received new and splendid additions. His "Southwest Palace," in Nebi Yunus, exceeded in size and magnificence that of Sinacherib, which it was intended to supersede. He named it "the storehouse of all things," inasmuch as it was both palace, arsenal, museum, and gallery of art. To another palace at Kalach he somewhat irreverently transferred the monumental inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III (§ 341). This structure, still incomplete at the time of his death, bore the proud inscription "king of the

[1] III R. 16, col. V. 13 ff. (cf. I R. 47, col. V. 11). To these were added ten princes of the island of Cyprus, making twenty-two in all, according to his own enumeration. We need not be surprised to find Ba'al, king of Tyre, among the number, for he was quite willing to furnish an ordinary rate of tribute, and only objected to losing his independence (cf. § 683). That Esarhaddon looked closely after his provinces in the West-land we may infer from Ezra iv. 2; cf. 2 K. xvii. 24 ff. (§ 799).

kings of Egypt, Pathros (upper Egypt), and Kush." These and other labours in various cities of his empire, along with his achievements in war and statesmanship, testify to his wonderful energy as well as his genius for government. Yet withal he was of a mild and generous disposition, perhaps more so than any other noted king of Assyria. Though stern enough to obstinate rebels, he was eager to spare and pardon the submissive. No Assyrian king before or after him wielded such unquestioned and widely extended power, and none used his power so wisely and temperately as he. It may be that he was always expectant of an early death, for he wrought in haste and appointed his successors before he set out on his last expedition. Yet though his work was done quickly, it was skilful and solid, and might have been enduring, if the conditions which were slowly but surely preparing the doom of Nineveh had not been beyond all human control.

CHAPTER IX

ASSHURBANIPAL AND THE DISSOLVING EMPIRE

§ 763. ASSHURBANIPAL ("Asshur begets a son," 668–626), son of Esarhaddon, was, as he himself informs us,[1] appointed and installed by his father as viceroy in Nineveh and as prospective king, on the twelfth of Iyyar (end of April, 668). This was a wise precaution, perhaps taken with a view to avoiding the trouble which had preceded his own inauguration. At any rate the final enthronement of the new king was accomplished without disturbance. The prestige of his father, and perhaps his own personal qualities, made his rule popular, and the favourable omens were reinforced by a period of unprecedented national prosperity.[2] But Asshurbanipal was not the sole ruler of the empire. Another son, Šamaš-šum-ukīn ("Shamash has determined the name," 668–647), had been designated king of Babylonia, and he there took the throne concurrently with his brother's accession in Nineveh. The dual sovereignty, with a subordinate rôle assigned to Babylonia, turned out to be a colossal failure. But of this more hereafter.

§ 764. The condition of the lately acquired Egyptian domain first called the young king into action. It was when Esarhaddon was on the way thither, to deal with an insurrectionary movement led by Tirhaka (§ 693), that

[1] V R. 1, 8 ff. See Note 17 in Appendix. Esarhaddon made the assembled princes of the empire swear solemnly by the names of the gods to protect his son, in view of his future kingship (lines 20–22).

[2] V R. 1, 45 ff.

he met with his untimely death. During his absence from Egypt (670–668), that veteran campaigner prepared, in his ancestral home in Ethiopia, to drive the new lords of the land from their usurped dominion. The death of the conqueror of Egypt was the signal for action.[1] The Assyrian garrisons, from Thebes northward to Memphis, were one by one overcome, while the foreign governors found it expedient to retire from their posts, and betake themselves to the desert till help should come from Nineveh. The expected succour was not long delayed. A strong force was despatched to the relief of the loyalists. A battle was fought at Karbanit,[2] near the Canopus mouth of the Nile, in which Tirhaka was defeated. He fled southward by the river, yet with the command of a sufficient army and sufficient public sympathy to make it advisable that the Assyrians should secure reinforcements. These were not backward in offering themselves, since all the subject states to the west of the Euphrates now felt that the fate of Egypt was sealed. Twenty-two vassals sent contingents by land and sea to join the forces of Asshurbanipal. In about forty days Thebes was reached. It was found abandoned by Tirhaka, and was taken without opposition. The reduction of all the territory that had been subdued and garrisoned by Esarhaddon was now an easy matter. The baffled Ethiopian entrenched himself on both banks of the Nile some distance south of Thebes. Here he was not molested by the invaders, nor did he move northwards until the main Assyrian army of occupation had withdrawn. Then the well-practised game began anew.

§ 765. The reader will understand the precarious position occupied by the princes of Lower Egypt under the Assyrian dominion. In transferring their allegiance from the Ethiopian over-lord to the king of Assyria, they had

[1] The Egyptian wars are comprised in the first two "campaigns" in the Annals of Asshurbanipal V R. 1 and 2, cf. K. 2675 and K. 228, in G. Smith, *History of Asshurbanipal*, p. 36 ff.

[2] See Delitzsch, Par. 314.

not simply undergone a change of masters. They had always been true and patriotic Egyptians, forward to act of their own free will (cf. vol. i, p. 422) in defence of the home-land, or in aggression against the common oppressor. The old tolerant relation of suzerainty and general superintendence, established by the first Ethiopian conqueror (§ 347), was still maintained essentially unimpaired. Now it had been the wise and comparatively generous policy of Esarhaddon (§ 756) to allow as many of these nome-rulers as possible to retain at least the nominal control of their own principalities, while administering them in behalf of the empire of the Tigris. It was in some respects a new situation which here confronted Esarhaddon, and his policy was a great experiment. That it succeeded so well is a testimony to the high degree of perfection now attained by the Assyrian governmental system. The conditions, in brief, were these. Only the over-lord Tirhaka was a proscribed enemy of Assyria. The governors of the provinces were virtual appointees of Esarhaddon, as much so as, for example, Hoshea of Samaria (§ 332) had been an appointee of Tiglathpileser III. In this first formidable uprising, therefore, none of them, even if under suspicion of disaffection, were strictly called to account. After the defeat and flight of Tirhaka, and the renewed subjugation of the country, they, along with the governors of Assyrian origin, were reinstated or confirmed in their positions. It is easy to see, however, that with the conflicting claims upon their allegiance, their native country must wield the stronger influence. And it is not surprising to find that Tirhaka still had power among them to conjure with the name of a united and independent Egypt.

§ 766. The withdrawal of the main Assyrian army, without having extended the conquest of Upper Egypt or destroying the army of Tirhaka, encouraged some of these officials to make overtures to their former lord. The most important of them was Necho ("Necho I" of Manetho), who was indeed the most powerful of all the

vassal kings of Egypt, being ruler of the whole territory from Memphis, the ancient capital, to Sais, not far from the sea on the main western branch of the Nile. With him was allied *Šarludāri*, the prince of Pelusium, and Paḳrura, the viceroy of the neighbouring nome of Pesept, the key to Egyptian Arabia. The watchfulness of the Assyrian officers prevented the consummation of the plot. Incriminating letters were intercepted on the persons of the messengers. Necho and Sharludari were seized and sent in chains to Nineveh. The cities which were involved in the insurrection were taken and their inhabitants put to death with most cruel barbarity. Among them were Sais and the better known Biblical city of Zoan. But strange to say, the fate of the captured ringleaders was mitigated. Neither of them seems to have lost his life, while Necho was actually pardoned, loaded with presents, and restored to the lordship of his old city, Sais.[1] Tirhaka, in despair, fled still further south, where death soon put an end to his patriotic enterprises and his checkered life.

§ 767. But the forlorn hope of Egyptian independence was not extinguished with the passing away of the veteran agitator. His nephew Urdaman (Tanut-Amon) succeeded to the throne of Ethiopia and to the hereditary duty of war upon the Assyrians. The permanently available army of the foreigners was plainly insufficient for the suppression of the whole country. It could only continue to retain the Delta. Urdaman occupied Thebes, and thence marched northward and took his stand at On (Heliopolis). Thence he proceeded to blockade Memphis. It was abandoned by its defenders. Another army of relief came from Assyria. Before it the "rebels" once more retired. They retreated

[1] A measure as politic as it was humane. It would seem as though Asshurbanipal followed for a time at least the generous policy of his father towards suppliant captives (§ 762). The cruel treatment of the seditious cities, now in the last stage of probation (§ 288), which reminds one of the conduct of Julius Cæsar at the siege of Munda (cf. § 169), was not inflicted by the Great King himself (V R. 2, 1 ff.), but by his generals. He himself was then at least in Nineveh (2, 7).

to the city of Thebes, which they soon abandoned to a cruel fate (§ 769).[1] A decisive defeat awaited them still further south on the Nile, before the city of Kipkip, the capital of Nubia. With this event, Ethiopian predominance in Egypt came to an end.

§ 768. For several years Lower Egypt was held securely by the Assyrians. The pardon and restoration of Necho had conciliated his people as well as himself. There seemed indeed to be no spirit of independence left in Egypt. The Ethiopian over-lordship was no more, and the ruling power in the Delta was enlisted in the cause of the foreigners. Thus Necho served his master faithfully till his death. But his son Psammetichus I, though likewise placed upon the throne by the Assyrians, soon revolted against them in the name of ancient Egyptian autonomy. He received aid not only from other princes of the Delta, but from Ionian and Carian troops sent down by Gyges, king of Lydia (§ 774 f.). He succeeded in maintaining his independence, and although the details of the struggle are not known to us, it is certain that by the year 645, while Asshurbanipal was still firmly seated upon his throne in Nineveh, Assyrian domination was forever at an end in the valley of the Nile. In closing our cursory survey of this remarkable international episode, we may point out that perhaps the most important permanent result of the Assyrian invasions and occupation of Egypt was to make it impossible for the Ethiopian dynasty to maintain its control of the lower country. Egypt will soon re-emerge as a more formidable power, under changed yet more normal conditions.

§ 769. The fortunes of Egypt in this eventful era are not unnoticed in Hebrew Prophecy. The allusions are not very specific, yet they are unmistakable and illustrate the unique prevision of the Old Testament seers. Isaiah

[1] Thebes was this time completely looted. Among the spoil, mention is made of two beautiful obelisks, of the weight of 2500 talents, which were taken to Nineveh (V R. 2, 41 ff.).

xix. has already come under our notice (§ 656), and an analysis of the section, vs. 1–15, was given, with the remark that the instrument to be used for the punishment of Egypt was her rival Assyria. We may now see how the picture here presented of the anarchy and helplessness of the land of the Pharaohs corresponds in its main features to the Assyrian domination and its results. The internal strife of v. 2 reached its height when Necho, favoured by Assyria, took up arms in favour of his patrons. The character of the "cruel master" of v. 4 is illustrated by the treatment accorded to the revolting cities (§ 766). The folly of the princes of Zoan and Memphis (vs. 11–13) is exemplified by their taking the lead in fomenting insurrection in Egypt, because they were "the corner-stone of her tribes." The prediction, uttered half a century before, found its fulfilment at last, though the chief value of the prophecy is not its foresight of particular events, but its insight into the essential character of the Egyptian government, and its relation to the fortunes of the people of Jehovah.

§ 770. A more specific reference to the troubles of Egypt is found in a prophetic reminiscence of the capture of Thebes (§ 767), found in Nah. iii. 8–10. Prophecy is not simply the forerunner of the events that make up history; it is also the interpreter of the past for the uses of the future (cf. § 14). The great catastrophe of the age was the impending fall of Nineveh (cf. § 760). Other tragic events were types and analogies of this appalling consummation. Thus Nahum, writing over thirty years after the close of the revolution in Egypt, surveys the calamities of his time, and can find nothing so exemplary as the fate of "No-Amon[1] that sitteth among the streams;

[1] "No" is the Biblical name of the famous capital of Upper Egypt, the Greek "Thebes" and later "Diospolis." The Assyrian form is *Ni'*, to which the native Egyptian *Nu*, "city," nearly corresponds. It is called No-Amon as being the principal seat of the worship of the great god *Amen*, the supposed analogue of Zeus-Jupiter; cf. Jer. xlvi. 25. Other Biblical

that has the waters round about her; whose rampart is the sea,[1] and her wall the waters.[2] Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and that without end. Put and the Libyans[3] were among her helpers. Even she as an exile went into captivity. Her infants, too, were dashed in pieces at the corners of all the streets: and upon her nobles they cast the lot, and all her grandees they bound with chains" (vs. 8–10).

§ 771. The doubtful possession of Egypt was not the only hard problem left in the West by Esarhaddon to be solved by his successor. At his death in 668 Tyre was still maintaining a precarious independence. But not long thereafter it submitted to the more favourable terms offered by the new king, who found it necessary to conciliate all opposition in order to be unhampered in his Egyptian campaigns. In the list of twenty-two princes who furnished contingents for the reconquest of Egypt appears the name of Ba'al, king of Tyre.[4] It was demanded of him that he should send his children to Nineveh. Asshurbanipal was content to retain his daughter and the daughters of his brother; but he released and sent back his son[5] with a pardon for Ba'al, on condition, naturally, of

references are found in Ez. xxx. 14 ff. See Par. 318, and especially A. Jeremias, in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, III, i, 104 f.

[1] That is, the Nile, called also in modern Arabic "the sea."

[2] This correction (merely the change of vowel-pointing) is obvious.

[3] The location of Put is not yet definitely ascertained. Glaser, one of the best and most recent investigators, makes it the name of a people in mid-west Arabia; see *Skizze der alten Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* (1890), II, 332 ff.

[4] The list is given in S. A. Smith, *Asurbanipal*, ii, 25 f.; cf. Winckler, GBA. p. 337. Possibly the name is inserted here merely for the sake of symmetry. On the other hand, while the Egyptian wars make up the first two campaigns, the capture of Tyre would seem to have come later, since it forms part of the "third campaign" in the annals of Asshurbanipal. These, however, do not maintain complete chronological order. The date can hardly be settled as yet.

[5] Described significantly (V R. 2, 58) as a lad "who had never crossed the sea," — that is, of course, not a "land-lubber," but a mere school-

an increase of tribute. It is noteworthy that the same leniency is here exhibited as marked the treatment of Palestinian insurgents generally (§ 625). As a matter of fact, to have destroyed Tyre, or even to have crippled it by excessive rigour, would have been to kill the goose that laid the golden egg. As to the condition of Palestine in these earlier years of Asshurbanipal, it may be sufficient to say that it remained for a time as peaceful and contented as it had been in the days of his father. The name of Manasseh of Judah appears again (cf. § 761) in the list of tributaries alluded to above.

§ 772. A remarkable prophecy (Isa. xxiii.) summarizes the condition and prospects of Tyre during this period of Assyrian aggression upon the Mediterranean coast-land. We have a hint of the date at which it was written; for, according to v. 13, the devastation of "the land of the Chaldees" by the Assyrians, and the destruction of Babylon, are still fresh in the minds of the Prophet's readers or hearers. We may be reasonably certain, therefore, that the time was after the vengeful work of Sinacherib in Babylonia (§ 733 ff., 740) and very near to the epoch of the restoration under Esarhaddon (§ 748 ff.). It can hardly have been earlier than the former date, since no previous Assyrian campaign resulted in such calamities to both land and capital as those here mentioned. It cannot well be much subsequent to the latter; for there would have been no significance in reminding the Tyrians of the fate of a people who had been long restored to prosperity.[1] It is therefore quite possible that Isaiah him-

boy. The phrase is probably quoted from the letters sent by the lad's father to the Great King.

[1] In spite of the obscurities and peculiarities of certain expressions, the general sense of the verse is clear. The first portion refers to evil wrought by the Assyrians upon the Chaldæan country, and the second to their destruction of a city, which can only be Babylon itself. The phrase "this is the people which was not" apparently refers to the expulsion of the Chaldæan communities by Sinacherib; and the fate of Babylon is most naturally associated therewith, because, as a matter of fact, the Chaldæan

self wrote at least the greater portion of the chapter in his later years, perhaps about 685 B.C.; that is, about twenty years before Tyre capitulated to Asshurbanipal. The situation is, as usual, indicated in broad and general terms, as well as somewhat idealized. Tyre is made most prominent, because of her importance and her steady resistance to the Assyrian arms (§ 680 ff.). But it is really southern Phœnicia as a whole that is the subject of the prophecy. Sidon is referred to mainly because of her being the mother city (v. 12; cf. § 44). Perhaps the most striking historical allusion is that made to the frequent and increasing forced migrations from the home-cities to the colonies (vs. 6, 12; cf. § 42). Very noteworthy also is the statement that the report of the fall of Tyre should make the Egyptians quake (v. 5), an observation which our present survey enables us to appreciate (cf. § 753, 757, 769). Finally, we must not overlook the fact that the Assyrians, and no other, are the instruments of Jehovah's chastisement (vs. 9, 11), since otherwise the warning reminiscence of v. 13 would be irrelevant.[1]

§ 773. We may pass over, as being of little general interest, the voluntary homage and rich offerings of princes in northern Phœnicia, eastern Cilicia, and Tabal (Tibarene).[2] The loyalty of the last named was perhaps inspired by fear of the ominous Kimmerians (§ 758 ff.). Of more importance is the history of the celebrated Gyges (Assyr. *Gūgu*), king of Lydia, who on account of these

régime of Merodach-baladan as "king of Babylon" (Isa. xxxix. 1) was one of world-wide fame, which had been displaced by the Assyrian domination. The denial that Isaiah was the author of the chapter, on the ground of the occurrence of several words which do not appear elsewhere in his writings (*e.g.*, by Dillmann, *Der Prophet Esaia erklärt*, 1890, p. 210), would seem to involve the assumption that Isaiah's Hebrew vocabulary was somewhat limited.

[1] The commonly held hypothesis that v. 13 is a later interpolation is very improbable. Though appropriate in its immediate association with the context, what an elaborate historical construction it would involve as an afterthought! See, however, Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 139 ff.

[2] V R. 2, 63–94; G. Smith, *History of Asshurbanipal*, p. 68 f.

northern marauders was brought most strangely into relations with the king of Assyria. The actual career of the Lydian prince is known from classical story, which represents him as a palace favourite who compassed the death of his master, Kandaules, and after his accession to the throne raised his feeble nation to a commanding position.[1] But the mythological halo that invests his name has given him a wider currency; and Plato's "ring of Gyges" is better known than the philosophy which it illustrates. By a curious fate his relations with far-off Assyria partake of a similar semi-mythical character, which, however, I may be permitted to set forth in the words of the Great King himself,[2] especially as they help to illustrate the religious conceptions of the Assyrian people.

§ 774. "Gyges, the king of Lydia (*Lu-ud-di*), a region beyond the Sea, a remote district, the mention of which the kings my fathers had never heard, Asshur, my begetter, caused to behold my name in a dream, saying: 'Embrace the feet of Asshurbanipal, king of Assyria, and by uttering his name conquer thy enemies.' On the day when he saw that vision, he sent his courier to bid me hail.[3] And the dream which he had beheld he sent by the hand of his messenger and he repeated it to me. From that very day when he embraced my feet, he overcame the Kimmerians, who were besetting his land, who had not feared my fathers nor embraced my royal feet. By the aid of Asshur and Ishtar, the gods my lords,[4] he cast into chains and fetters and bonds of iron two of the prefects of the Kimmerians, whom he subdued,[5] and made them come before me with rich presents. His messenger, whom he had regularly sent to bid me hail, he (now) failed to send.

[1] Herod. i, 8 ff. [2] V R. 2, 95–125.

[3] Literally, "to ask for my welfare"; so 1 Sam. x. 4, in the identical words of the Assyrian.

[4] Notice that homage paid to the king of Assyria implies worship of his gods, and their consequential protection (cf. § 61, 299).

[5] That is, he subdued the Kimmerians, and then cast, etc.

And because he regarded not the command of Asshur my begetter, and relied upon his own power, and (because) his own heart prompted him, he sent his forces to join Psammetichus (*Pi-ša-mi-il-ki*), king of Egypt, who had rejected the yoke of my lordship. I heard of this and prayed to Asshur and Ishtar: 'Before his enemies may his corpse be thrown down, and may his bones be carried away.'[1] According as I petitioned Asshur, it was fulfilled; before his enemies his corpse was thrown down, and his bones were carried away. The Kimmerians, who by the spell of my name he had trodden down, came on and overwhelmed the whole of his land. Afterwards his son seated himself upon his throne. The evil deeds, which through the uplifting of my hands the gods my defenders had executed against his father, he reported by the hand of his messenger, and embraced my royal feet, saying, 'Thou art a king whom God has chosen.[2] Thou didst curse my father, and evil was inflicted upon him. Me, the slave that worships thee, do thou bless, and I will bear thy yoke.'"

§ 775. Here we have the first episode of the relations between the far West and the East which were a century later to become so full of interest and fateful results. Stripped of its religiosity and self-glorification the account is meagre enough, and it is difficult to say whether the Great King took any more active interest in the affairs of Lydia than to permit the hard-pressed king of Lydia to call upon the talismanic names of Asshur and Ishtar. Probably he did nothing more; and the story is related mainly for the purpose of showing that the name of the king of Assyria and his gods had still power to overawe the barbarians of the north.[3] We have, however, some important facts. The rebellion of Psammetichus (§ 768) apparently

[1] Cf. § 734, note.

[2] Literally "has known." Cf. the same word (ידע) in Hebrew, Gen. xviii. 19; Amos iii. 2.

[3] Also, no doubt, in order to spite and belittle Gyges for assisting the Egyptian insurgents.

owed its success in a large measure to the help afforded by Gyges and his mercenary troops. We see here the beginning of the colonizing of Egypt by Lydian and Carian troops on an extensive scale. It was certainly after the loss of these troops to Lydia that the Kimmerians made their worst assaults upon that country. According to the Greek historians the damage inflicted by them, and alluded to by Asshurbanipal, was serious indeed. Their first great invasion brought them to the acropolis of Sardis, the capital. After the relief, alleged by Asshurbanipal to be the result of his prayer, they returned and defeated Gyges and slew him in battle. We may anticipate later events by adding that the son of Gyges, Ardys II, also maintained an unequal contest against the Kimmerians, who, however, were finally expelled from the neighbourhood by Alyattes III, the grandson of the last-named prince. Finally, we cannot fail to be impressed by the widening of international relations that marks the present and the coming era. From the remotest times the Semitic peoples had to do mainly with one another in their enterprises of war and peace (§ 93, 97, 116, 153). But now we see the furthest coast of Asia Minor brought near by treaty and alliance to Egypt on the one hand and Assyria on the other. The next great stride is made when Europe receives upon her shores the ambassadors and the armies of the furthest east of this vast historic region. But this does not take place until the Semitic régime is outworn and superseded.

§ 776. And now a more genuine and effective solidarity than any previously displayed began to be realized among the dependent states of the Assyrian empire. The strenuous rulers of Nineveh had by dint of remorseless and unrelaxing pressure brought under one administration a multitude of unsocial and mutually hostile communities, and had "made them speak the one language" (cf. § 179) of homage and obedience to Asshur. Like all policies that are purely selfish, this also reacted against its promoters. The combination that had been effected by force had at

last been converted into a conscious sense of unity, springing from a just resentment against the common oppressor. The rebellion of Psammetichus and his politic alliance with the Lydian king were no isolated movement. They were disturbances incident to a vast upheaval. All of the larger states not entirely deprived of their autonomy rose by a common impulse against their suzerain. The result in the extreme west we have already recorded (§ 768). A fiercer and more critical struggle was now waged in the extreme east, and the repression of the outbreak was the last great achievement of the Assyrian arms. The trouble seemed to owe its inception to comparatively trifling causes; but these were, so to speak, openings in the embankments towards which the pent-up waters rushed to find an outlet.

§ 777. A revolt of the Mannæans[1] on the northern border (cf. § 758), which was suppressed without great difficulty (c. 655 B.C.), had no great significance for the general situation. Nor are we to lay especial stress, except as a premonition of a coming greater catastrophe (cf. § 760), upon an expedition against the land of Saḫi in the northeast.[2] Its people had formerly submitted, and now by rebellion they brought upon themselves the customary punishment of invasion and spoliation. They were the advance guard of the Medians, who at length had come to occupy the whole country east to the Caspian Sea (cf. § 311). The life and death struggle which shook to its foundations the throne of Asshurbanipal was waged, not in the north, but in the Babylonian home-land, whence had come the first impulse to imperial enterprise, and where still lay potentially the elements of a more splendid empire than that of the proudest ruler of Nineveh.

[1] Described in V R. 2, 126–326, and more fully in "Cylinder B" III, 23 ff., or G. Smith, *History of Asshurbanipal*, p. 89 ff.

[2] Cyl. B, III, 102–IV, 14, or Smith, *History, etc.*, p. 97 ff. Two princes, sons of Gāgu, prefect of Saḫi, were concerned in this uprising. Gāgu is usually identified with the "Gog" of Ezek. xxxviii., which describes the incursions of the Scythians (§ 814). The name Sachi suggested

§ 778. The brother of Asshurbanipal (§ 763), upon the vice-regal throne of Babylon, may have cherished, almost from the earliest years of his administration, the hopes of complete independence and freedom of action in all Babylonia. But it was long before he gave any sign of a revolutionary purpose. He had been set over Babylon in accordance with the policy and the wishes of Esarhaddon, who desired to conserve and nurture its liberties and interests (§ 748 ff.). He seems to have followed in his father's footsteps [1] in the performance of this worthy task. But he was after all only administrator of a portion of the empire ruled from Nineveh, and the more his country prospered, the more irksome became to him his position of inferiority to his brilliant brother. He could not forget that while his father had been by his own choice "viceroy" of Babylon, he himself had been designated as its king.[2] Such control as he now held on sufferance it was impossible to perpetuate. Divided dominion or concurrent jurisdiction within the same empires is virtually impossible in Semitic lands. If the rulers themselves agree for a time, the intriguers and agitators of the rival courts make occasion for strife and collision. In countries where judicial administration is so defective, conflicts of authority as to border

to G. Smith the *Çaka*, the original form of the name "Scythian" (*Σκύθης*).

[1] In one of his inscriptions (V R. 62, 9 f.) he says that the great gods had approved of him for the task of gathering together the scattered people of Akkad and of restoring their neglected shrines. It is not quite clear how far his jurisdiction extended. Probably he ruled over the whole of Babylonia except the southerly portions, which had been unsettled by the Chaldæan troubles. Winckler (GBA. 279) says that he did not control Shumer and Akkad. This is in direct contradiction to his own statement in V R. 62, 5, and his Cylinder Inscription, line 11. Winckler's mistake is perhaps due to his erroneous conception of "Shumer and Akkad" (see § 109). That Assyria directly controlled South Babylonia is clear from the history of the complications with Elam.

[2] Even by Asshurbanipal himself, though he is careful to specify the relation as a kind of "clientship." See Lehmann, *De inscriptionibus cuneatis, etc.*, p. 24 ff., and especially Jensen in KB. II, 258 f.

troubles, as to fugitives, and the like difficulties, are inevitable and seldom decided except by appeal to force. That the two brothers administered neighbouring territories for nearly twenty years without quarrelling is really more remarkable than the fact of their final rupture. Šamaš-šum-ukīn must have yielded many a time to arbitrary restraint before he attempted to throw off all control. We have the story of the quarrel told by Asshurbanipal alone, and the seditious brother is naturally put in the wrong. But until we hear the other side, and unless we hold that in the Semitic world might was always right and unsuccessful rebellion always wrong, we would do well to suspend our judgment. It is quite possible that Esarhaddon was more to blame for devising the dual régime, than was his unfortunate son for seeking to give it due effect. At all events, the tragic ending of the present episode only confirms the inference, already made so clear, that Babylonia could flourish neither as a province of Assyria nor as an autonomous dependent.

§ 779. Babylon was not directly involved in the first series of disturbances. The parties were the old discordant elements whose various combinations had already confronted the Assyrians with many insoluble problems. The Elamites had been conciliated towards Babylonia by Esarhaddon (§ 752) and appear to have kept on the best of terms with its new ruler. But the Gambulians, a race of semi-nomadic Aramæans on the lower Tigris (§ 339) who were trying to assert their independence of Asshurbanipal, joined the Elamites in active hostilities against Assyria.[1] These allies appear to have invaded Babylonia, and to have threatened Babylon itself. It seems remarkable that no mention is made of an attempt at defence by the Babylonians themselves. At any rate the insurgents under the lead of Urtaku, king of Elam, were driven over the border

[1] Cylinder B, IV, 43–58 (G. Smith, *History of Asshurbanipal*, p. 100 ff.). According to Cyl. B, VI, 83 ff., they had incited Urtaku of Elam against Assyria.

by the Assyrian troops. Singularly enough, all the leaders of the movement died about this time by the manifest judgment of heaven. Still more strangely this intervention of the offended gods in behalf of their pious champion only seemed to increase his troubles; for a very "devil" of a man, named Teumman, now took the throne in Elam in the place of his brother Urtaku. The rightful heir, with his kindred, fled for protection to Nineveh, a fact which seems to show that in all probability there was a strong foreign party in Elam aided and abetted from the Assyrian capital. Teumman requested that the fugitives be extradited. Asshurbanipal refused to give them up.[1] A second advance of the Elamites into Babylonia was made and repulsed. They were pursued across the border, and defeated before the royal city of Susa. Teumman, who had been warned by heavenly portents of his impending fall, and had been besides smitten with foul disease for his presumption, was now taken and slain, and Elam was virtually put under Assyrian administration. To save appearances, however, a son of Urtaku (one of the fugitives in Assyria), Ummanigaš by name, was placed upon the throne.[2] On the return march exemplary punishment was inflicted upon the Gambulians.[3]

§ 780. Now at length (c. 650 B.C.) the storm broke loose for which so many elements had long been gathering. Not since 701 (§ 677 ff.) had there been such a commotion in Western Asia. To estimate its character and motives we must once more be on our guard against taking literally the statements of our only witness, the Assyrian tyrant himself. The essential portion of his case against his brother is as follows,[4] made after enumerating the kind-

[1] Scarcely, however, on grounds of humanity. His magnanimity may be estimated by the fact that among other atrocities committed after the defeat of Teumman, he took out of Elam a grandson of the great Merodach-baladan and put him to a shameful death in Nineveh.

[2] V R. 3, 27 ff.; and much more fully and unctuously in Cyl. B, IV, 71–V, 103.

[3] Cyl. B, VI, 10 ff.

[4] V R. III, 96 ff.

nesses he had shown him throughout his reign: "Yet he, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, an unfaithful brother, who did not observe the covenant made with me, incited the people of Akkad,[1] the Chaldæans, the Aramæans,[2] the people of the sea-land from Aḳaba to Bāb-salimēti, my servants and dependents,[3] to rebel against me. Ummanigaš, the fugitive, who had clasped my royal feet, whom I had placed on the throne in Elam, and the kings of the Gute,[4] of Palestine,[5] of Melūḫa, whom I had installed by the warrant of Asshur and Beltis, — all of these he set at enmity against me, and they made common cause with him. The gates of Sippar, Babylon, and Borsippa he barred, and cancelled the bond of brotherhood." This must not be taken too seriously. It is another way of saying that at or about this time the peoples named entered into revolt. That the king of Babylon negotiated with most of the princes named is very likely; but they were as ready to revolt as he was, and some of them — those in the far west and in the northeast — were already in a state of disaffection. What the court-annalist aims at is to place the blame of the general and inevitable outbreak upon the most obnoxious of the insurgents.

§ 781. Further, it should be observed that even for the rising of the neighbouring peoples this "disloyal brother" receives too much credit. Let us look at his position for a moment. He had, of course, a policy, being ruler of such a country as Babylonia. It was manifestly his interest and duty to follow out the lesson he had learned from his good father (§ 750 ff.), to cultivate friendly relations with Elam and the Chaldæans. This,

[1] Here, as frequently in the inscriptions of Asshurbanipal, equivalent to all Babylonia, except the south-land.

[2] That is, the Aramæans on the lower Tigris, the Gambulians, and others (§ 339).

[3] Literally, "who behold my face"; cf. § 407.

[4] Apparently here a general name for the northeastern peoples (cf. § 92, 109, 777).

[5] The reference is in part to King Manasseh of Judah (see § 801 ff.).

apparently, he had always done. Nor were the Elamites, as a rule, unfriendly to Babylonia. The incursions lately made by them over the border were, like those of the Chaldæans, not made against Babylon, but rather against Assyria, which was always regarded as an intrusive usurping power. Twenty years' experience of the Assyrian régime in the lower River region, with its encroachments, intrigues, and cruelties, had taught him that it was by no means a blessing to its subjects. Besides, like other Babylonians, he could not but sympathize with the struggling Chaldæans as against the Assyrians. It was neither flattering nor profitable to any ruler of Babylonia that the revenues of the seaports should be carried past the old commercial cities of Babylonia, and go to enrich the insatiable magnates of Nineveh. All things considered, it seemed right and expedient that Babylonia and its neighbours should be left to themselves. Perhaps on the whole, instead of following a recent historian[1] in characterizing Šamaš-šum-ukīn "as a conscienceless knave or else a weak-minded simpleton," it would be better to say that his chief fault was his misfortune in striking too soon. At all events, fanatic though he may have been, he moved upon the lines which at length led to deserved success in more propitious days. As to the deluded Elamites, Aramæans, and Chaldæans, we may be sure that the Assyrian garrisons and tax-gatherers were a more powerful provocation to revolt than the seductions of the Babylonian prince.[2]

§ 782. The veteran generals of Asshurbanipal, to whom, rather than to his own genius for war and statesmanship, he owed the preservation of his empire,[3] met the uprising

[1] Winckler, GBA. p. 280.

[2] As Asshurbanipal himself seems to imply when he says (V R. 4, 97–100) that, after being instigated by his brother, they came to antagonize him on their own account.

[3] Asshurbanipal, unlike his predecessors, seems never, or very rarely, to have taken the field in person. After being told how he set out on the

with adequate skill and resource.[1] The great fortified cities, Sippar, Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha (§ 94), were besieged and finally taken. Reverse after reverse attended the insurgents upon the field. What perhaps contributed most of all to their ill-fortune was the characteristic internal strife of the ruling party in Elam. Ummanigaš, the creature of the Assyrian king (§ 780), and at last, as the story goes, his rebellious vassal, was murdered by his own brother, Tammaritu, also a pardoned fugitive, whom Asshurbanipal had appointed governor of one of the Elamitic provinces. The new king, true to the hereditary policy, ranged himself on the side of the foes of Assyria, and placed an army at the disposal of the hard-pressed king of Babylon. Before, however, the promised help could be effective, he in his turn was dethroned by one of the nobles of the country, named Indabigaš, who defeated him in battle and compelled him to flee the country with a band of his retainers. After a roundabout journey and many sufferings they found their way to Nineveh, where, by propitiation of the Great King and his gods, the deposed prince succeeded a second time in gaining protection.[2]

§ 783. The rebellious cities of Babylon were thus left without adequate defence. The army of Assyria, having ravaged the open country, cut off their supplies and con-

---

march and defeated the enemy on such and such a field, we read regularly that the captives were brought before him in Nineveh or Asshur to be tortured and executed. His chief boast is, indeed, that he spent so much time in interceding with his favourite deities for success in war or vengeance upon his foes. This habitual employment was carried on, of course, in the cities of Assyria proper, and is doubtless recorded to show among other things that after all it was he who gave success to his armies. He was apparently a new type of Assyrian hero.

[1] V R. 3, 128 ff.

[2] V R. 3, 136-4, 41. The pardon of Tammaritu is another instance of Asshurbanipal's boasted magnanimity. If the whole story as told in the annals is true, the suppliant was the most grievous offender of them all. Most probably he had been all along a secret supporter of his old patron, and hence his dethronement by his loyal subjects!

fidently awaited their capitulation. For two full years they endured the blockade. But slow starvation, helpless isolation, and a spirit broken by long vassalage and the shame and suffering of repeated national humiliation, at length did their work. One after another Sippar, Cutha, Borsippa, and Babylon itself, fell a prey to the fury of the unsparing conqueror. The luckless prince in Babylon preferred self-immolation to the tender mercies of his brother, and died in the flames of his own palace.[1] Fearful vengeance, with indescribable cruelties and barbarities, was inflicted upon all surviving rebels. Thus Asshurbanipal, in 648 B.C., became king of Babylon. The land was not further devastated. Nor were the cities destroyed. One redeeming quality, at least, the conqueror had. Unlike Sinacherib (§ 740), he had respect for the culture and science of Babylonia. His passionate desire to appropriate their choicest monuments, and to enrich and adorn therewith his own libraries and palace-walls, may have entered into the motives that swayed him to the side of forbearance.

§ 784. To secure Babylon for Assyria one decisive step further was necessary, — the complete subjugation of Elam. With this must be combined the extirpation of the Chaldæan disturbers of the peace. A plausible pretext for the invasion of Elam was never lacking, and least of all now that the turbulent monarchy was upon its last probation (§ 288). It was impossible now to allege against Elam a conspiracy with Babylon; but friendly relations with the Chaldæan chiefs were sufficient to constitute a *casus belli.*

[1] As is well known, this is the death ascribed to Asshurbanipal himself ("Sardanapalus") by the Greek writers. The tradition combined the fortunes of the two brothers. The narrative says naïvely that the gods threw the rebel prince into burning flame (V R. 4, 46 ff.). Among the deities referred to, Merodach, the tutelary god of Babylon, is conspicuous by his absence. Indeed, Asshurbanipal never claims the protection of Merodach except in connection with his installation (K. 3050; G. Smith, *History, etc.*, p. 9 f.; KB. III. 1, p. 236), while Esarhaddon, the friend of Babylon, rejoiced in his patronage.

It was quite in the order of things that the family of Merodach-baladan should be concerned in the business. And so we find that another grandson of the old patriot, Nabū-bēl-šumi by name, was the occasion of intervention. We are assured that, while Babylon was still unsubdued (c. 650), he persuaded the Assyrians of friendly intentions, and afterwards went over to the Elamites. After the subjection of Babylonia, he took refuge with the king of Elam, Indabigaš (§ 782). When everything seemed to be ready for successful interference, Asshurbanipal demanded the surrender of the fugitive Chaldæan. Just at this time another revolution was accomplished in Elam, and Indabigaš gave place to a soldier named Ummanaldaš. He thought it his duty to refuse the demand for extradition, with the result that in a short time he was compelled to flee to the mountains. Tammaritu, the twice-pardoned fugitive (§ 782), was then placed upon the throne by the Assyrians. With incredible hardihood he revolted yet again, and with the customary result. He now showed the world at last that he could take to flight without finding the road to Nineveh. At any rate, he is heard of no more, except in a vague statement to the effect that the gods subjected him a second time to Asshurbanipal.[1] The next turn of the kaleidoscope shows us Ummanaldaš again as king of Elam, and still again faithful to his client from the sea-land.

§ 785. Meanwhile Asshurbanipal, thoroughly weary of the scene-shifting, was preparing to bring on the catastrophe of the tragedy. An adequate force was collected. The land was devastated with fire and sword from end to end. Susa ("Shushan"), the capital, was taken, with its rich, long-undisturbed treasures. Nothing was left undone that might make more sure the ruin of the kingdom and exclude its princes and people from all hope of restoration. The gods of Elam were deported, and even the tombs of the kings were rifled of their ghastly contents and carried

[1] V R. 5, 34 f.

to Nineveh.[1] After the Assyrian army had finished its work of destruction and retired, the king of Elam returned from his flight. Once more the demand was made upon him for the surrender of the Chaldæan. But the grandson of Merodach-baladan asked no further proof of the fidelity of his patron. Sterner than King Saul and his follower, he and his armour-bearer turned their swords upon one another, and so evaded the last ordeal of Assyrian justice. But the vengeance of the conqueror was not wholly baffled. The spirit had perhaps not left the body of the hated Chaldæan. There still remained the luxury of imagining him forever deformed and degraded among his peers in Sheol. The corpse is brought before him by his messenger, along with the head of the faithful armour-bearer. But the deed must be left to be described in the words of the doer: "His body I granted not to the tomb. More dead than before I made him.[2] His head I cut off and bound it on the neck of Nabū-ḳāti-ṣabat, an officer (?) of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, my brother and enemy, who had joined with him in stirring up war against me in Elam."[3]

§ 786. Among the other parties to the general uprising (§ 780) perhaps the most formidable were the tribes of Northwestern Arabia. We are only beginning to learn

[1] The conquest of Elam is very fully related from the Assyrian standpoint in V R. 5, 36–7, 8. It was on this occasion that the statue of the goddess Nanā-Ishtar, which had been carried from her temple at Erech to Susa sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before, was restored to its original seat (V R. 6, 107 ff.; cf. § 107).

[2] The horror of mutilation after death was due to the persuasion that the life of the spirit-world was a counterpart in its external aspects of the earthly state of existence. Hence a whole body meant an undivided ghost. But to this was added the belief that the spirit did not leave the uncorrupted or unmutilated body till a certain period after the first stage of dissolution (cf. John xi. 39; Job xiv. 20). This, apparently, is the explanation of the expression quoted above, "More dead than before I made him," and it may account for the eager haste with which a fallen foe was often beheaded (1 Sam. xvii. 46, 51).

[3] This last episode of the war with Elam and the Chaldæans is told in V R. 7, 9–81.

the real importance of these peoples in ancient times. Frequent references have been made to the part they played as allies of the Egyptians, as independent traders of rich resources, and as unwilling subjects of the all-subduing Assyrians (§§ 334, 630, 708, 754 f.). Since the empire of the Tigris had succeeded in securing the West-land and in conquering Egypt, it was of the very first consequence that these new possessions should be kept free from seditious entanglements with the restless tribes of the desert as well as from their raids over the border. After many costly attempts to put them down, a policy was instituted by Esarhaddon of maintaining among them centres of influence friendly to Assyria and at the same time severely disciplining all marauders and malcontents (§ 754 f.). A people less predisposed than these Bedawin to outside interference could scarcely be imagined: and it is not surprising to find that just as two centuries before they had contributed their quota of men and camels to the defence of the west country against the encroachments of Shalmaneser II. (§ 228), so now they were not backward in offering aid to the wider movement for freedom and revenge. Accordingly the leading chief of the Arabs east of Palestine, Yaüta by name, son of the Hazael of whom we have heard in Esarhaddon's wars (§ 754 f.),[1] refused to continue his tribute, and sent two of his chiefs with a contingent of riders to the assistance of the "disloyal brother," at the opening of the Babylonian war. This took place, of course, before 648 B.C. The new problems and their resulting complications furnished motives for one of the most arduous and prolonged of the campaigns of Asshurbanipal.

§ 787. We cannot here go into the somewhat obscure details of the narrative of the Assyrian annalists. The main enterprise, however, is of great interest for two reasons. Palestine, especially the kingdom of Judah, was involved in the same insurrection. Besides, the story

[1] V R. 7, 82 ff.; Cyl. B, VII, 87 ff.; Smith, 283 ff., 290 ff. Cf. Haupt, "Wateh-ben-Hazael," in *Hebraica*, vol. i. (1885).

makes familiar and more real to us several of the Bible localities and peoples which have as yet scarcely come within the region of actual knowledge. We distinguish two great divisions of Arab tribes among those with whom the Assyrians had now to do. Yaüta was the leader among the one group, whose pasture-grounds and semi-nomadic settlements extended from the east of Moab to the north of Damascus as far as Zobah (cf. § 202). The Assyrian posts along the border were soon reinforced from Nineveh, and Yaüta, his allies, and dependents were defeated in a series of encounters (c. 647 B.C.). The Great King describes the actions as having been fought in several localities; among others in Edom (*ina Udumi*), in Ammon (*ina Bīt-Ammāni*), in the territory of Hauran (*ina nagī ša Ḫaurīna*), and of Zobah (*Ṣu-bi-ti*). Yaüta himself sought refuge in vain with Natnu, the king of Nebaioth.[1] In close union with these more northerly tribes at this time were the people of Nebaioth and of Kedar.[2] The chief of the Kedarenes joined in the league against Assyria. His defeat was speedily effected.

§ 788. But unexpected developments brought much graver difficulties to the rulers at Nineveh. The sons of

[1] Probably the Nabatæans of the classical writers, who are also familiar to us from the inscriptions of about the time of the Christian era found in Sinai, Petra, and the Hauran, and from numerous coins. For Biblical notices, see Gen. xxv. 13; xxviii. 9; xxxvi. 3; Isa. lx. 7. According to the last-named passage they were a powerful tribe, as possessing immense herds of cattle. As in the cuneiform records they are associated closely with Kedar, so also in the Bible, and in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v, 11, 65.

[2] It is the northerly tribes and their neighbours, lying to the east also of Palestine, that are called by the general name "Arabs" in the Bible, in the cuneiform inscriptions, and other early documents (see Glaser, *Skizze Arabiens*, II, 315). The others, such as Nebaioth and Kedar, lying south or southeast of Palestine, are distinguished by their own special names. Kedar lay to the east of Nebaioth as its nearest neighbour. It was a powerful community, as one might infer from the numerous references in the Old Testament (Isa. xxi. 16 f.; xlii. 11; lx. 7; Jer. ii. 10; xlix. 28; Ez. xxvii. 21; Ps. cxx. 5; Cant. i. 5). For Kedar and Nebaioth see especially Par. 296 ff.; KAT.^{2} 147 f.; and Glaser, *op. cit.* 311 f.

Yaüta had fared very badly in the expedition for the relief of Babylon (§ 786), and they gave themselves up to Asshurbanipal (648 B.C.). They were pardoned by him, and upon the revolt of their father, the elder brother, Abiyate by name, was made king over the Kedarenes. After a time, however, the first love and hate resumed their rights in the soul of this typical son of the desert, and he joined Natnu, the chief of Nebaioth, against the Ninevite empire. This prince, who had formerly rejected Yaüta, the foe of Assyria, and left him to some mysterious fate, was now ready to take up arms in a more general revolt, to which Uaite, the new king of the Arabians, also lent his aid. It was to meet this formidable uprising that one of the most remarkable expeditions of antiquity was organized and despatched. As the disturbances extended far to the north in the Syro-Arabian desert, and were participated in by Aramæans as well as Arabs, the march was not made either from southern or eastern Palestine, but direct from Nineveh over the Tigris and Euphrates and through the desert. The description of the campaign is done in the best style of the later school of Assyrian annalists, and, along with much conventional bombast, contains passages of real rhetorical excellence. For example, the lamentation of the hunted and desolate Arabians is quoted[1] with an exquisite sense of their sufferings and yet without a softening touch of pity or compunction, the whole series of calamities being referred, as a matter of course, to the just vengeance of Asshur upon the violators of his covenant. The first march of about four hundred miles brought the Assyrians to the midst of the desert of Maš, — the Syro-Arabian desert, — where the people of Nebaioth and their allies were met and overcome, and the survivors carried to Damascus. That central border-land city was now made the base of operations, which were not stayed till all the leaders of the

[1] V R. 9, 68 ff. The whole interesting record is given in V R. 7, 82–10, 5, the longest of the campaign narratives.

insurrection were hemmed in and forced to surrender by starvation or at the point of the sword. The fate of the chief offenders was settled by well-approved processes in Nineveh.[1] Along with the multitude of prisoners the number of cattle and camels taken to Assyria was so vast, that, in the language of the narrator, the land was filled with them to the utmost corners. They were divided out among the people of Assyria; and the price of a camel in the open market ran from one and a half silver shekels to a half shekel.[2]

§ 789. It is related[3] by the Great King that after his defeat of the Arabian confederates, and on his return by the accustomed seacoast route, he put down a revolt in the Phœnician city of Ušū,[4] as well as in the neighbouring city of Akko.[4] The relations already sustained by these communities to Assyria (cf. § 675) seemed to necessitate rigorous treatment, which was administered without stint. The survivors, with their gods, were carried away to Assyria. Now these insignificant towns, which could not have taken independent action,[5] must nevertheless have been involved in the larger conspiracy. They seem, moreover, to have been encouraged, by their position being so remote from the scene of the principal actions, to withhold their allegiance until the exasperated conqueror decided upon extreme measures. What is, however, of most significance is the suggestion here afforded of the attitude of

[1] A mode of punishment much affected by the scholarly and devout Asshurbanipal was to put his captives in a cage along with a number of dogs, and "make them keep watch, with chains about their necks, at the gate of Nineveh." See, for example, V R. 8, 27 ff.; 9, 103 ff.

[2] V R. 9, 42 ff. [3] V R. 9, 115 ff. [4] See Par. 284 f.

[5] In the earlier days of the empire revolts of petty communities here and there were frequent enough, because it was not easy to reach them or hold them in check, without sending an expedition from the capital or adopting some other coercive manner involving excessive delay and expense. But now that the empire was thoroughly organized, and military stations were established at many commanding points, no isolated disturbances were possible except such as did not rise beyond the dignity of riots.

Palestine generally towards the insurrection. It is absurd to suppose that these cities undertook to revolt with the backing of the Bedawin and semi-nomads alone. They must have had the sympathy and support of more powerful neighbours. Who were their allies? The description given of the earlier conflicts with the desert warriors (§ 787) makes it plain that Palestine east of the Jordan was in active sympathy with the insurgents. But these were also too remote from the outlying Phœnician seaports to give them substantial help at need. The inference is obvious that some considerable portion of western Palestine had prompted these disturbances. Within this territory there was now only one community in a position to take such a step, namely, the kingdom of Judah. For with this exception the whole country west of the Jordan was now under direct Assyrian administration.

§ 790. Yet in the annals of Asshurbanipal, which recount these affairs so completely, there is no mention of any uprising on the part of the Judaite monarchy. We find indeed an allusion in the Hebrew literature itself which appears to satisfy the requirements of the situation. In 2 Chr. xxxiii., after an account of the infidelity and idolatrous practices of the king of Judah, Manasseh the son of Hezekiah, the narrative goes on to relate (vs. 10–13): "And Jehovah spoke to Manasseh and to his people; but they gave no heed. And Jehovah brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria. And they made Manasseh prisoner with hooks, and bound him with fetters, and led him to Babylon. And when he was in distress he besought Jehovah his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. And he prayed unto him, and he was propitiated by him and heard his supplication, and restored him to Jerusalem to his kingdom. So Manasseh knew that Jehovah was God." In trying to regard this episode from the true historical standpoint we find ourselves brought once more directly to our central theme — Israel in its relations to its dominant environment. We

accordingly need to take a brief survey of the political history of Judah from the point where it was broken off, leaving for later consideration its religious and moral features.

§ 791. The recuperation of the territory of Judah after its desolation by the army of Sinacherib went on slowly but surely for many years. The devastation was so widespread and complete that it was not till the spring of 699 B.C. that agricultural operations were resumed on an extensive scale (§ 721). The loss of over two hundred thousand of the population, most of whom would naturally be heads of families, placed a heavy burden on those who remained. The repairing or rebuilding of the houses, the restoration of city walls, the reclamation of fugitive children and relatives, must have occupied many long and anxious months. Jerusalem was indeed intact, and within its defences had no doubt been gathered many from the surrounding country (cf. § 352). But within the forty-six fortified towns taken by storm were also found many refugees whose fate was death or exile. Moreover, the second inroad of Sinacherib (§ 696) must have taken the people by surprise, and rendered access difficult to the central city of refuge. Nothing is told us of the details of these pathetic attempts to retrieve the irretrievable. While to multitudes it meant the beginning of life over again, to the chastened Hezekiah and his counsellors it meant the reconstruction of the state upon new foundations.

§ 792. We must not suppose, however, that there had been any serious loss of proper territory. True, Sinacherib transferred (§ 675) certain districts formerly controlled by Hezekiah to the domains of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza; but practically this amounted to little or nothing more than the restitution of lands normally Philistian, of which the king of Judah had despoiled these principalities (2 K. xviii. 8; § 651). Their retention after the calamities of Judah would in any case have been impossible.[1] The

[1] With a startling misconception of the condition of Judah after the Assyrian invasion, Stade (GVI. I, 624) gives it as his opinion that it was

prostration of Palestine generally after the Assyrian scourge had done its work disinclined the petty communities towards reciprocal aggression, and Judah was at liberty to work out its own destiny, of course under the continued overlordship of the Great King.

§ 793. Any thought of further revolt against Assyria was out of the question. We grossly misconceive the whole political situation if we suppose that the disaster which befell the army of Sinacherib in the autumn of 701 weakened upon the whole the prestige of Assyria in the West. Though Sinacherib and his forces had vanished, the permanent garrisons remained in the country, and the provinces were administered from Nineveh as before. The retention of the fortresses of Palestine and all their bases of supply was a matter vital to the very existence of the empire. That Sinacherib did not succeed in conquering Jerusalem was no proof of inability to hold Palestine against all comers. The least sign of waning power in the Mediterranean coast-land would have been a virtual notification to Egypt that she might enter in and take possession. But the Assyrians had in 701 actually extended their direct influence in Palestine, had besides beaten the Egyptians out of that country, and had retired at last, not before a more powerful enemy, but only before unmistakable portents of celestial displeasure. Least of all could Judah, prostrate, bleeding, and more than decimated, dream for many a year of asserting an independence which at best could be gained and maintained only by the help of a combination of powerful nationalities. We do not forget the failure and rebuff of Sinacherib. But the significance for Jerusalem of that exceptional episode was simply this, that it and its dependent territory were saved from becoming an Assyrian province. There was a world-wide difference

at this later time that Judah acquired the Philistian territory mentioned in 2 K. xviii. 8. That Ewald, *History of Israel* (Engl. tr.), iv. 186, held a similar view was natural enough in his comparatively unenlightened time.

between the continuance of such autonomous vassalage as Hezekiah had inherited from his father, under the suzerainty which Sargon had passed on to Sinacherib, and an obliteration of all political and social rights, along with the religious disabilities which must surely have followed in its train. On the other hand, the wreaking of vengeance upon Jerusalem, such as that which was afterwards inflicted upon Babylon (§ 740), was not beyond the bounds of possibility under a prince who had already shown himself to be so cruel and remorseless. While Hezekiah and Isaiah lived, no such tempting of Providence would again be ventured as that which had brought almost total ruin upon city and country alike. On the whole, Hezekiah and his little "remnant" had enough to do to rebuild the shattered fabric of the state, to restore the waste places of Judah, and in general to cultivate the arts of peace and the services of the religion of Jehovah, vindicated by the great deliverance.

§ 794. Under ordinary conditions a country devastated by the Assyrian armies might expect aid from the conquerors themselves in its renewal and restoration. It was an essential element in the imperial Assyrian policy that, while rebels should be severely punished, their lands, as tributary to the empire, should be conserved and developed. Hence it was a necessary feature of the system of deportation that, in place of the nations of the country, who were transplanted to remote districts also under the sway of the Great King, others should be introduced, with the twofold purpose of habituating them to direct control from Nineveh, and of promoting the productiveness of the land and its prospective value to the empire. The wisest and best of the Assyrian kings adopted this policy towards Samaria long after its conquest (see § 799). Sinacherib, after wasting the country of Judah with fire and sword, left it to itself. The attitude of the conqueror towards Judah was, in all respects, exceptional and notable. Why he should not have occupied it after its devastation, contigu-

ous as it was to other Assyrian possessions, and easily kept under control, can only be accounted for on the hypothesis of his aversion to having any further dealings with a land so ill-omened for Assyria (§ 732). Such neglect of a country whose ruin he had well nigh accomplished, while it may have retarded its material development, was nevertheless of moral and religious advantage to the surviving inhabitants.

§ 795. In caring for the kingdom thus remitted to his charge by the Assyrian invader, and in carrying out more earnest and effective measures for the reformation of religion, the remaining ten years of the life of Hezekiah passed peacefully away. The political quiet which reigned throughout the land, while it was favourable to the former task (§ 791 f.), was equally so to the latter. The wholesome lesson had been taught more powerfully by the practical discipline of war and devastation than by the appeals and denunciations of Isaiah, that plots and conspiracies and seditions against Assyria only unfitted the Hebrew people for their true mission. It put into clear relief the essential nature of Israel's struggle for its real interests, which lay in the conservation and cultivation of the religion of Jehovah. The net results of the unequal conflict were, first, that the kingdom of Judah, with its central city, was allowed to survive; and, second, that it was allowed to retain its position as a state on probation; suspected indeed, but yet tolerated on condition of regular payment of tribute. There was therefore no question, while the country remained quiescent, of forcing upon it either foreign officials or alien gods.

§ 796. Equally favourable to Isaiah's particular plans of religious reform was the outward condition of the country at large. The reformation had many details of stricter and more earnest ritual (2 Chr. xxix.–xxxi.). But its great distinction was that which in its earlier stages had been noticed even by the officers of Sinacherib (2 K. xviii. 22); namely, the centralization of the sacrificial services in Jerusalem.

What could be more propitious for this enterprise than the state of the country at large in its humiliation and desolation? It was the local sanctuaries and the stated worship and the ministry of the attendant priesthood that gave prestige to the towns in their respective neighbourhoods throughout the land. These were, as a matter of course, dismantled and disbanded by the "servants of Asshur" in their campaign of devastation; and their restoration could only be accelerated with the rapid return of population and prosperity. The observance of these conditions made it easy for Hezekiah and his dominant counsellor to persuade the surviving votaries of former shrines to resort to the central sanctuary on Mount Zion. What was of equal importance, especially for the first decisive movements towards centralization, was the outstanding fact that Jerusalem, the special seat of Jehovah, had been spared, while the territory overlooked by the "high places" had witnessed the triumph and listened to the blasphemies of the enemies of Jehovah and his people.[1] An inevitable result, in any case, must have been a large permanent accession to the population of Jerusalem. On all grounds a rare opportunity was now afforded for the completion of the work of reform in ritual and worship.

§ 797. Hezekiah, as we have seen (§ 638), must have died about 690 B.C. Our data make him to have been forty-four years old at the time of his death. The very tender age at which his son Manasseh, probably his eldest-born, succeeded to the throne is additional evidence that he passed away as a comparatively young man. Yet his life had been eventful, and of great importance for the history and

[1] Compare the argument of Ps. lxxiv. 8–10, applying to somewhat similar conditions, though in a later age. We must not overlook the fact that the hardships of the deposed priests and the officials of the local sanctuaries must have been much less than if they had been summarily expelled in a time of peace and prosperity. F. W. Newman, *History of the Hebrew Monarchy* (3d edition, 1865), p. 290, has some creditable but, as we can now see, exaggerated expressions of sympathy for these sufferers at the hands of the reforming party.

destiny of his people. His reign is marked by three monumental distinctions. The first was that in spite of early successes in aggressive conquest and diplomacy their final issue brought about the adoption of the prophetic policy of national quiescence and trust in Jehovah. The second was the reformation in worship which was promoted so largely through the changed political conditions. The third was the composition and publication of the most powerful and far-reaching of the Old Testament prophecies. This was an age of great issues and decisive events in that little corner of the world where the world's fate was being prepared. The most significant of all its lessons was one which was probably not understood by any except Isaiah and his disciples, as indeed the complete apprehension of such a lesson is rarely within the reach of contemporaries. Under Hezekiah the sceptre was departing from Judah; but in his time were forged some of those spiritual weapons which have reclaimed for the kingdom of God a territory much vaster than all that was wasted by the Assyrian. As for Hezekiah himself, it is no detraction to say that he was not always equal to his opportunities or his duty. He was not in any sense a great king. But few kings in any age have been great men, and still fewer have been good. It is only just to say that he stands out in moral stature above all the preceding kings of Israel or Judah. His errors of ambition and intrigue were those of an inherited policy and were committed by him while still a youth. His conspicuous merit is that in his afflictions and reverses he sincerely humbled himself (Isa. xxxvii. 1 ff.; xxxviii. 9 ff.), and that he bent himself at last without reserve to the prophetic work and purpose. He has thereby gained a renown more just than the adventitious distinction which has associated his name with the golden age of Hebrew literature.

§ 798. Manasseh, the son[1] of Hezekiah (690–640), came to the throne of Judah under circumstances quite different

[1] Possibly not his only son; see the prediction Isa. xxxix. 7. The assertions of Sinacherib (§ 675, Col. III, 38), which seem to throw further

from those which had attended the accession of any of his predecessors. The most important outward change was that which had converted the territory outside of Jerusalem into an appanage of the capital, such as it continued to be until the close of the monarchy.[1] Of the details of his civil government we have little or no information. Of one thing we may be sure, that no serious disturbance in any important line of policy was made during the years of his minority. Centralization of government as well as of worship being a sure tendency of absolute monarchy, this was perhaps the only marked political and social feature of his earlier years. Upon another important point we can speak with confidence. Sinacherib did not cease to rule in Nineveh till Manasseh had been about ten years upon the throne. Non-interference of Assyria in Palestine was continued by Esarhaddon, so that we must consider the first twenty years of the long reign of Manasseh to have been free from harmful complications with the controlling state. What these years brought to Jerusalem, Bible readers well know.

§ 799. The change of religious policy in Judah so pronounced and disastrous was, we may safely assume, inaugurated about 680 B.C. At that time Manasseh must have attained to the years of independent action; and as Isaiah and his chief supporters had passed from the scene, no opposition was given to the wild impulses of a misguided youth. Another coincidence it may be proper to note. It was at this date that a new king came to the throne of

light upon the household circumstances of Hezekiah, are merely the regular form of statement made in recounting the subjection of a rival king.

[1] Notice, as bearing upon this revolution, the contrast presented by the later portion of the prophecy of Micah compared with the earlier. In the one case (chs. ii. and iii.) the evils condemned by the prophet are those practised by great country landholders, as well as the nobles of the capital. In the other case it is the iniquities of city life that are expressly censured (vi. 9 ff.). It is indeed a question whether the latest chapters were not written by Micah himself (§ 595), now living in Jerusalem, to which we may perhaps assume that he retired after the devastation of his country home by the Assyrians (ch. i. 14 ff.; cf. § 791, 796).

Assyria. Now it may be observed that the religious revolutions which took place in Israel had generally behind them a political occasion. Thus the idolatrous career of Ahaz was begun after he had come under obligations to Assyria (§ 336). The reform of Hezekiah was promoted through the withdrawal of Sinacherib. And the later reform under Josiah was undertaken when the power of Assyria, hitherto predominant, had begun its rapid decline (cf. § 828). Manasseh necessarily either appeared in Nineveh personally to render homage to Esarhaddon and his gods or was represented there by his ambassador. What more natural than that he, like Ahaz, in similar circumstances (§ 640), should be impressed by the pomp and splendour of the worship of the great gods of Nineveh, and thereby moved to introduce it into the temple services? That the type of religious observances promoted by Manasseh was Assyrio-Babylonian is clear from the language of 2 K. xxi. 5, 6, which tells us of sacrifices to the host of heaven and in general of the astrological basis of the favourite mode of worship. We are concerned with the matter just now chiefly for its political bearings. The most obvious inference from the facts related is that during the decisive years of this period of religious reaction the kingdom of Judah was studiously subservient to the ruling state, and that the anomalous attitude maintained by Sinacherib towards the once turbulent principality had given place to one of active interest. A proof of such concern on the part of Esarhaddon in the affairs of Palestine is shown in his settling Samaria with colonists from the eastern portion of his dominions, who seem indeed to have formed the main elements in the permanent population of the country (Ezra iv. 2). The same policy was followed by Asshurbanipal in the earlier years of his reign (Ezra iv. 9, 10), who as the conqueror of Susa (§ 785) transplanted thither people of that city,[1] of Babylon, Erech, and other less known localities.

[1] Cf. Par. p. 329.

§ 800. The most marked feature of the internal life and history of the Judaite monarchy was the rejection of the prophetic control in the policy of the state. This was inseparable from the loss of prestige which the Prophets suffered from the degradation of the worship of Jehovah. Their counsel invariably was to hold a middle course between restless intrigue against Assyria, which had brought untold calamities upon the state, and that obsequious cultivation of Assyrian patronage which surely resulted in moral and religious evils still more disastrous. That they should have been at once put into the background was inevitable. And yet it is remarkable that scarcely a prophetic voice was raised during all those years for purity of morals or of religion. Micah, indeed, in the closing days of his career, arraigns with dramatic force the false religion, the gloomy unspiritual ritualism, and the reckless immorality and dishonesty of the capital (ch. vi.). But the very absence of his old aggressive bitterness is an evidence that he came less into public view than in the days of the earlier struggle. He was indeed the last of that great order of Prophets which began when Assyria was first looming up on the horizon of Israel, and ended with its swift decline.

§ 801. Thus the years went on till the time of general commotion came which resulted finally in the downfall of Babylonian independence, the devastation and annexation of Elam, and the scourging of the tribes of Northern Arabia (§ 776 ff.). In connection with these larger uprisings came those smaller insurrections whose association with the leading centres of disturbance has already been shown (§ 786 ff.). At last Judah itself joined the list of disaffected states (§ 790). Its share in the rebellion was brief and inglorious. An armed force overran the country. The capital was sacrificed without resistance. Manasseh was taken and carried to Nineveh.[1]

[1] "Babylon" is mentioned as the place of banishment, instead of Nineveh, by a natural mistake of the writer or perhaps of some copyist.

§ 802. It may naturally be asked how it is known that Asshurbanipal and not Esarhaddon was the ruling king when this revolution took place in Judah. The question is already virtually answered in the preceding narrative. There was no opportunity or indeed possibility of such a change of attitude on the part of Manasseh during the earlier reign. Nor was the motive of a rebellion under Asshurbanipal very obvious. We are, indeed, not to understand that Judah took a prominent part in the insurrection. Most probably it was rather guilty of negotiation with the Arab tribes of the border (§ 786 ff.) than of armed resistance to the Assyrians. It may possibly have been the Arabs who, before the arrival of the Assyrian reinforcements, by terrorism and a system of blackmail, secured the promise of assistance from Jerusalem. This was sufficient to bring summary chastisement from the Assyrian over-lord. We may notice how strikingly the account in Chronicles illustrates the character of the warfare of Asshurbanipal. According to his peculiar wont he did not proceed in person, but it was "the captains of the host" (xxxiii. 11) who carried Manasseh to Babylon. "Hooks" (cf. 2 K. xix. 28) were used to secure the captive king — a favourite procedure of the same Assyrian monarch so noted for his whimsical cruelty.[1]

§ 803. It may be asked further, "Why then was this transaction not mentioned in the annals of Asshurbanipal?" The answer is that these records do not contain an account of all the numberless details of provincial wars. Only events of essential moment were recorded, particularly those which affected the status of the empire as a whole. Doubtless a multitude of other princes, before and after this episode, shared the fate of Manasseh for similar offences. Moreover, the disturbance was not so marked, because Manasseh submitted without resistance. Hence, also, his kingdom was not annexed. Nor was he himself subjected either to death or permanent captivity.

[1] V R. 9, 105 ff.

Indeed, he was at last included among the number of prisoners of rank who found grace in the eyes of the tyrant.

§ 804. According to the Biblical narrative (2 Chr. xxxiii. 12 f.) Manasseh's captivity was to him a means of grace and an occasion of repentance. In answer to his prayer to Jehovah, whom he had slighted and dishonoured, deliverance was granted him and restoration to his home and kingdom. Now at last he began to show symptoms of right kingly sense. He manifested a regard not merely for the material defences of his country (v. 14), but above all an endeavour to undo, as far as might be, the evils which had been wrought through his cruelties and immoralities. He had not very long to labour in this laudable work. He died about 640 B.C., seven years after the defeat of the border Arabians (§ 787), which we have assumed to be nearly synchronous with the beginning of his captivity. It would appear from this that he was liberated not very long after his imprisonment had begun.

§ 805. Manasseh's long reign was upon the whole one rather of moral than of political decline. The kingdom could not but continue for some time to recuperate under the peaceful régime of Esarhaddon and the early years of his successor. Compromised as it was by the treachery of its king towards the Assyrians, it does not seem to have suffered permanently in consequence. On the other hand, a general deterioration must have been the result of the religious reaction. There is too much reason to believe that the "innocent blood" which Manasseh shed so profusely in Jerusalem was to a great extent at least that of the adherents of the reforming party and its leaders the prophetic guild.[1] In the fury of persecuting zeal many of

[1] It is unnecessary to say that the story that Isaiah at the age of nearly ninety was sawn asunder by the order of Manasseh has only the authority of remote tradition; see Driver, *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, p. 2. It is not impossible (Hebr. xi. 37); and there is no objection to it on the score of the time of Isaiah's life. If he was thirty years old in 738 B.C. (§ 269; Isa. vi. 1), he must have been, if living, about eighty-eight at the date of the persecution (cf. § 799).

those who still preferred unmixed Jehovah worship would naturally be made to share their fate. Thus the best blood of the community was poured out like water, and both the head and heart of the state were smitten with a deadly wound.

§ 806. Manasseh was succeeded by his son Amon (640–639 B.C.). Unlike his predecessor and successor, he was a mature man when he came to the throne,[1] and thus entered upon his own chosen policy without delay. He apparently had already held the supreme power[2] during his father's exile, and was a devoted adherent of the foreign worship and its cruel rites. Most probably for this reason the new king was intensely unpopular. The brief interlude of righteousness and morality under the repentant Manasseh was perhaps more to the liking even of the men of the court. A conspiracy was formed by which Amon's life came to a sudden and violent end in his own palace. However we may demur to the method of assassination, it must be allowed that the continuance of the present policy would have been destructive of the state. And yet the act itself was not popular. The feeling of loyalty to the king in Judah was so strong (§ 277 f.) that "the people of the land," that is, the freemen in general, as distinguished from the court party, put the conspirators to death. They then set upon the throne Josiah, son of Amon, being little more than an infant (2 K. xxi. 23 ff.).

§ 807. That the prophetic and reforming party had at last gained the upper hand in the state is proved by the character of the youthful Josiah (639–608 B.C.). During

[1] Probably a few years older than twenty-two (1 K. xxi. 19), for in this case he would only have been fifteen or sixteen years of age at the birth of Josiah (cf. 1 K. xxii. 1).

[2] There must have been some "king" in Jerusalem during the absence of Manasseh, however brief that period was, for the simple reason that the Assyrian rulers invariably appointed a substitute for a dethroned monarch in a rebellious state. Now there is no word of any other king than Amon in Judah at this period. This forms an additional argument in favour of his having been over twenty-two at his accession.

the ten years of his minority he was preserved from the vices and idolatrous habits which would inevitably have ruined any lad not hedged in by better influences. The outlook for religion and morality, always the main issues in Israel, now became brighter. Hence when Josiah was ready to undertake the most extensive and far-reaching reformation known in the history of his people, he found about him both civil and spiritual officers eager to promote his designs. It would be putting it more fairly, perhaps, to say that the good work was prepared by them and performed at their instigation. Indeed, the great prophet Jeremiah had been called to the ministry five years before the work was formally begun (cf. 2 K. xxii. 3 with Jer. i. 2). We must, however, leave for a time these mixed conditions so fraught with fateful issues for Judah and Jerusalem, and take a hurried survey of the closing scenes in the history of Assyria.

CHAPTER X

DOWNFALL OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

§ 808. The events hitherto recorded have brought the story of Assyria down to about 644 B.C. At this date King Asshurbanipal had completed more than one-half of his long reign. The years thus traversed had been spent in almost continuous war, and at the close of the record Assyria was still standing in her strength and pride. True, Egypt was lost beyond hope of recovery. But, as a compensation for its loss, the feebler successor of its conqueror doubtless congratulated himself that the whole of the West-land and of Arabia was now held secure against Egypt. Moreover, the northern, northwestern, and northeastern regions, so long coveted by the Assyrian kings, were also lost forever. If conquests in Cappadocia or Armenia, among the Mannæans or the non-Aryan Medians had still been possible, they would have soon to be surrendered to the new claimants from the farther north (§ 758, 773 ff.). With all of these aggressive warfare was at an end. But was extension or further conquest desirable? Had not the empire of the Tigris at last realized the true measure of its strength? From the Mediterranean to the mountains of Media, from Mount Taurus to the heart of Arabia, from Kurdistan to the Persian Gulf, the lordship of Asshur was still secure. These were the natural limits of such an empire, the proper Semitic realm (§ 17). Assyria had learned at last that her dominion must be determined by the possibility of undisturbed administration. And within these boundaries the organiza-

tion of provinces and subject states was alike perfect. The only exception was northern Arabia. But its people had been disciplined by many defeats, and were overawed by the numerous watchful border garrisons. Elsewhere chances of serious trouble seemed slight. The most valuable, and at the same time the most uncertain, part of the empire was Babylonia. But here the Chaldæans and Elamites had been taught by sword and flame and banishment that even among them Asshur was to reign supreme. Surely at last an Assyrian king might rest from strife and enjoy the fruits of long centuries of effort and of assiduous prayer to the great gods of Nineveh!

§ 809. But the strongest cohesive force in the empire was still physical compulsion. Everywhere the generals and governors and officers of the revenue confronted a disarmed and yet hostile population. The great combination of communities was, strictly speaking, not an organism. It resembled one of those structures which are made up of pieces kept together by a keystone, whose natural tendency is to separate rather than unite, and whose function is to keep the parts in place and prevent disturbance by unrelaxing pressure exerted equally upon them all. A movement of any one of the elements brings the uncemented pile to ruin. The Assyrian empire could still survive the impact of border incursions, or the tremor of local uprisings. But let numerous enemies pass over the land, and no force as yet generated by the political agencies of the ancient world could save the structure from demolition. A great disintegrating factor — one of the most influential in all Oriental history — was brought into play by the famous invasions of the Scythians.

§ 810. The annals of Asshurbanipal do not go beyond about 642 B.C., and our best authority for the Scythians and their invasions is still Herodotus, who gives us a graphic picture of their mode of migration, their appearance and habits, and the extent of their depredations. There is much in his description to remind us of the

Tatars and their repeated inroads into the civilized regions of the south and west, especially of the later more abiding conquests of Huns, Mongols, and Turks. They are represented, no doubt with some exaggeration, as a people coarse and gross in their habits, with stout fleshy bodies, loose joints, and scanty hair. They never washed themselves; their nearest approach to ablution was a vapour-bath. They lived either in wagons or in tents of felt of a simple and rude construction, and subsisted on mares' milk and cheese, to which the boiled flesh of horses and cattle was added occasionally as a rare delicacy. In war their customs were very barbarous. The Scythian, who slew his enemy in wrath, immediately proceeded to drink his blood. He then cut off his head, after which he stripped the scalp from the skull, and hung it on his bridle-rein as a trophy. The upper portion of the skull he commonly made into a drinking-cup. The greater part of each day he spent on horseback, in attendance on the huge herds of cattle which he pastured. His favourite weapon was the bow, which he used as he rode, shooting his arrows with great precision. He generally carried, besides his bow and arrows, a short spear or javelin, and sometimes bore also a short sword or battle-axe. The nation of the Scythians comprised within it a number of distinct tribes. At the head of all was a royal tribe corresponding to the "Golden Horde" of the Mongols, which was braver and more numerous than any other, and regarded all the remaining tribes as slaves. To this belonged the families of the kings, who ruled by hereditary right, and who seem to have exercised a very considerable authority. We often hear of several kings as bearing rule at the same time; but there is generally some indication of disparity, from which we gather that, in times of danger at any rate, the supreme power was always really lodged in the hands of a single man.[1]

[1] The above description I have taken, with slight abridgment, from G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies* (1881), vol. ii, p. 223 f., whose sum-

§ 811. The details of the invasion that have thus come down to us must be treated with some discrimination. The exact date of the incursions is in any case uncertain. Herodotus gives twenty-eight years as the duration of their visit. But this is manifestly impossible. So long a stay would amount to a settlement on the part of at least large sections of the confederation, and would have left permanent traces in types of population and manners. It may be, however, that the informants of Herodotus counted backwards in their rough fashion, from the capture of Nineveh, 607 B.C. This would make the earliest inroads to have occurred in 635, a date which suits all the conditions as far as we know them. At that time there were still nine years left of the reign of Asshurbanipal, and it is likely that the most formidable of the Scythian invasions took place during the maintenance of military order under that king. If the most serious inroads had occurred during the brief reigns of his two feeble successors, they would have had a material share in the ruin of the empire. As we know, however, it was by neither Kimmerians nor Scythians that the Assyrian dominion received its final death-blow. Two further traditional exaggerations must be corrected. These people could not have come all in one swarm; nor did they cover the whole face of the Assyrian empire at once. They arrived in successive migrations; they made gradual advances, and that by definite routes.

§ 812. Indeed, the Assyrian empire proper, as above outlined (§ 808), could not possibly be the chief sufferer. Coming, as these Scythians did, into southwestern Asia from over the Caucasus, they had first to encounter the Aryan Medes, now already organized into a powerful kingdom (§ 822). With them, indeed, as it would appear, their most prolonged struggle was maintained, and appar-

mary of the information given by the Greek writers has in a sense become classical. Further notices are given in the continuation of the above extract, along with full references to the literature.

ently the Medians came off well from the conflict. Then they would have to meet the hardy warriors of Armenia, and, in their westward course, those of Cappadocia, to whose population the Kimmerian accessions lent a vigorous element. They avoided the desert ways. But as they traversed the rich plains of Mesopotamia, and marched against the strong fortresses of Syria, they had to encounter not merely the Assyrian garrisons, but also many a troop of Arabs, who could match the invaders with their own weapons, and inflict endless damage by hanging perpetually upon their rear. As to the fortunes of the southwest under this visitation, we have good reason to believe that Palestine was little harassed, if at all.[1] It is related that Psammetichus, the prince of the Delta who had restored the independence of Egypt (§ 768), being warned of their approach when they had got as far as Askalon, bought them off from invading Egypt by valuable gifts.[2] If Palestine suffered to any great extent, it must have been in the territory east of the Jordan, which might furnish congenial pasture ground to these rangers of the steppes. They were scarcely very formidable in numbers by the time they reached the south of the Philistian plain. We may safely take it for granted that the terror which they inspired was their most serious infliction upon the people of Judah. The visitation was made during the minority of Josiah (§ 807), when the military spirit was at its lowest. If an assault had really been made upon the cities of Judah, little would have survived. And the calamity, which would have been worse than the evils wrought by Sinacherib, would have found some historical notice in the Hebrew literature.

§ 813. Hence we cannot agree with those who think that the Scythians are the northern invaders described in

[1] The name Scythopolis, given in later times to Beth-shean in Manasseh west of Jordan (*Beisān*), may possibly contain a reminiscence of this visitation, but we must be cautious about making a broad induction upon so narrow a foundation.

[2] Herodotus, i, 105; cf. ii, 157.

Jer. iv.–vi. Nor can we adopt the hypothesis that Jeremiah, one of the most practical of prophets, was here merely reproducing the details of the Scythian scourge, after the event, for the purpose of intimidating the faithless people of Jehovah. Jeremiah did not begin his prophetic work till 626 B.C. (ch. xxv. 3; cf. i. 2), the year of the death of Asshurbanipal, when the northern marauders had withdrawn from the Assyrian empire proper. Hence there can be no allusion to the Scythians directly. It is true that certain expressions (see ch. v. 17; vi. 22 f.) seem to point to them rather than to the other foe, the Chaldæans, who afterwards also came by the way of the north. The key to the whole difficulty is found in ch. i. 15, where it is said, "Lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the north, saith Jehovah, and they shall come and shall set each one his seat at the entrance of the gates of Jerusalem, and beside all her walls round about, and beside all the cities of Judah." The present prophecy, presumably the earliest of Jeremiah's compositions, is *general* in character, and does not refer to any one specific invasion. It was really fulfilled in the assaults and devastations of the Chaldæans (cf. ch. v. 15). Now as to the language employed, we need to keep three things in mind. We must remember that the "Chaldæan" army was by no means composed of Babylonians alone. Like the Assyrian hosts, of which it was the direct successor, it was made up of detachments from the various subject states. And as the former were called by their leaders "soldiers of Asshur" (§ 697, note), so an equally comprehensive appellation must have been employed everywhere for the army of Nebuchadrezzar. The references to enemies that came armed with bow and spear and rode upon horses (ch. vi. 23) might apply to many a detachment in the Chaldæan army not of Scythian origin. Again, it may be assumed that in consequence of the recent destructive march of the Scythians over the fairest portions of Western Asia, the language of the prophet would naturally be

coloured by that notable infliction. In like manner the "north" and the "uttermost parts of the earth" (ch. vi. 22) are expressions which, while somewhat vague, are yet natural in the mouth of a Hebrew observer of the time, since the region in question had come to be the source of periodic invasions threatening ruin and destruction to the whole of the southern lands. Finally, there may very well have been companies of Scythians settled here and there within the Assyrian empire at the date of this prophecy, whom Jeremiah looked upon as eligible soldiery for the next great invasion, whoever might be the leaders.

§ 814. The case is quite different with Ezekiel xxxviii. Ezekiel was an idealist, who in some of his discourses made little note of the order of time or of external *causal* relation. The suggestions and the terminology are here drawn from the inroads of northern barbarians, the last of which, the great Scythian invasion, was perhaps one of the vivid reminiscences of the prophet's youth. In these references, however, Gomer, Togarmah, Gog and Magog, are merely symbols of the nations that were to assemble for the overthrow of Israel, to be themselves discomfited by the intervention of Jehovah. They furnish in fact the psychological basis of much of the apocalyptic literature of both the Old and the New Testament (cf. Rev. xx. 7 ff.). Of Zephaniah, an early contemporary of Jeremiah, we can only say what has been said already of his great colleague. His brief prophecy has for its motive the doom of impenitent Jerusalem, the lesson being enforced from the fate of the nations (ch. ii.), Philistia, Moab, Egypt, and Ethiopia, and finally Assyria and Nineveh. With him also the recollections of the Scythian invasion have lent a touch of colour to the picture, though the expressions used are more general than those employed by Jeremiah.

§ 815. The Scythians doubtless invaded the territory of Assyria proper; but it is difficult to believe that they there inflicted any very serious loss. Enfeebled as the empire of the Tigris was in its dependencies and colonies, in

the closing years of Asshurbanipal, it was still strong in and around Nineveh. The disciplined veterans of the Babylonian and Arabian wars were not to be turned aside by these outlandish barbarians far from their homes and their patron gods. We may therefore assume that not only did Nineveh escape a siege, but that the savages were kept at a safe distance from the capital. Nor must we ascribe to the Scythian invasion entirely, or even chiefly, the swift decline of the great empire of the Sargonides (§ 809). That they accelerated its disintegration is evident; and a reconquest of the many regions, which *ipso facto* were liberated through their transient interference, was virtually impossible even after they had disappeared as an organized aggressive force, through their absorption, dispersion, disease, death on the battle-field, or voluntary return to the steppes of the north.

§ 816. It was thus as ruler of a dissolving empire that Asshurbanipal spent his closing years, his pride rebuked, his power curtailed, his gods averting their faces. One solace remained to him to the end. His distinctive passion was for literature and art; and it is for the encouragement afforded to both that he deserves an eminent place among the rulers of the Orient. His character is more interesting to the historical student than that of any other of the Assyrian kings, for the reason that it was so fully a product not only of his nation, but of his memorable times. The preceding monarchs of his country had been strenuous statesmen and warriors, because the maintenance of the glory of Asshur depended on a strong, directing mind. Esarhaddon had at length placed the crown upon all their highest ambitions, and when his son came to the throne, he fondly trusted that the empire, now so well organized, might dispense with the active intervention of its head. Hence, to a large degree, came the personal inactivity of Asshurbanipal in military affairs. Another occasion thereof was scarcely less potent. The personal sympathies and early associations of his father

had brought him into sympathetic relation with Babylonia. It may indeed be said that since the time of the great Tiglath-pileser, Assyria had been coming to understand the Babylonian life and character. But the effect of this closer contact was conspicuously seen in the education of Asshurbanipal, on which he lays such stress in his own inscriptions.[1] It was seen also in the impetus which was given to literary pursuits in the Assyrian capital. Of this brief but brilliant renascence Asshurbanipal was himself the chief official representative.

§ 817. But the literary activity of his scribes and secretaries, which under an Oriental despotism was necessarily impersonal, was something quite phenomenal in its extent and choice of subjects. We must suppose that the fashionable patronage of Babylonian learning so favoured by Esarhaddon led to the employment of many Babylonian teachers, at least among the people of the court and the wealthy magnates. Culture was not confined to the priestly class. The astronomical and astrological knowledge, which was at once the business and the ornament of their profession, is supplemented in the literary monuments of the age by geographical, botanical, and zoölogical learning, which would naturally be acquired by military and diplomatic attachés, commercial agents, or private travellers. Of this and a manifold culture besides, Asshurbanipal was a munificent and apparently an intelligent patron. Even the official annals, supervised and inspired by himself, in spite of their general adaptation to the monotonous prescriptive form of such documents, reveal in their ornate and polished style and wealth of diction the impress of a wide intellectual movement. These records, however, present their hero as the would-be rival of his great predecessors in the arts of war and government — a rôle in which he appears to signal disadvantage. But the multitudinous tablets which bear his signature, found in the ruins of his great palace in Kuyunjik, form of them-

[1] V R. 1, 31 ff.

selves a library of varied content which is unique in the history of the human mind. The majority of them, or at least of the originals, were obtained from Babylon. Hence it is to them rather than to monuments found in their proper home, that we owe our knowledge of the ancient Babylonians as a people, their manners and customs, their language and religion, and their varied intellectual treasures.

§ 818. But the form and mode of this very intellectual relationship with Babylonia betrays, after all, the inherent inefficiency of the Assyrian civilization and political system. These productions of the ancient Babylonian genius, which were literally appropriated and reproduced by the thousand, were regarded and spoken of as the spoil of the Assyrian king. It was thought that the mere acquisition and study of these monuments of reflection and research would confer upon the Ninevites all the prestige and moral advantage of the Babylonian culture. The process of appropriation was in fact an essential part of the enterprise of transferring the centre of Semitic influence from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Tigris. Necessarily it failed. The basis of the Assyrian civilization was essentially force, as its most honoured gods, Adar, Nergal, and Nusku, were personifications of terror, war, and desolation. Nebo, the wise revealer of the will of the gods, and Merodach, their healing and comforting agent among men, were the patron deities of Babylon. It was in vain that Asshurbanipal officially proclaimed himself to be endowed with the intelligence and wisdom of Nebo, whose political tutelage he disowned. Nebo still ruled in Babylon, and had no mind to dwell among the intellectual and moral aliens of the kingdom of the Tigris. Only in sculpture, architecture, and the mechanic arts did the Assyrians surpass their teachers. Yet even in these their lack of originality is as apparent as in the realms of literature and science. Nor can it be truly said that time and opportunity for the

higher mental attainments were lacking to Assyria. The era of Esarhaddon and Asshurbanipal, following upon that of Sargon, was eminently favourable for all forms of higher culture. It is, therefore, with a feeling of very qualified admiration that we contemplate the varied monuments of Assyria's one great epoch of intellectual achievement.

§ 819. While we have learned to reject the classical traditions with regard to "Sardanapalus," we have also found it necessary to abate something of the admiration with which he is regarded by modern writers on Oriental history. It is not easy to discover any broad principle of statesmanship in his conduct of imperial affairs. His policy in the western lands was fairly successful, because he followed in the main the path struck out by his father. Yet otherwise he made no advance, except by the use of barbaric methods which recoiled upon the agent. The most important and delicate matter of all was the Babylonian question. This had been admirably adjusted by Esarhaddon, and it might have been possible to continue his conciliatory attitude. The cardinal defect of the administration was the selfish isolation of the king. Esarhaddon's influence had been won by his personal visitations and residence among his subjects. His son remained at home absorbed in his pleasures and learned pursuits. He knew how to deal with his many enemies and revolted vassals only in a petulant, inconsistent fashion, which was marked by the extremes of malicious cruelty and whimsical indulgence. There is apparently some ground for the reputation of effeminacy which he bore in the legends preserved by Ctesias. The contrary has been argued from his prowess as a hunter, commemorated in many a palace-wall relief. These, however, are probably only the exaggerated efforts of official flatterers. The character of a mighty hunter was essential to every king of Assyria, as the annual *battue* is a mark of the type of royalty proper to modern continental Europe. The alleged fact that he

reigned for over forty years without domestic insurrection[1] is a more plausible evidence of kingly character. But we do not know the details of his later life, except that at his death the empire was being disrupted and dwindling away to the shadow of its ancient form and substance.

§ 820. This sudden decline was the beginning of the swiftly approaching end. A strange mantle of obscurity continues to envelope the history of the few memorable years which were still allotted to the kingdom of Nineveh. The son of Asshurbanipal who followed him upon the throne was called *Asshur-etil-ilāni-ukinni* ("Asshur, the lord of the gods, has established me"). For the sake of convenience, the last element of his name was usually dropped. Of his deeds we only know that he rebuilt the temple of Nebo in Kalach. The inscription[2] recording the fact was found in the ruins of the southeast palace in Nimrud (Kalach), of which he was thus apparently the builder. This revival of the cultivation of the patron god of Babylonia was perhaps significant of better relations with the latter country than had marked the first half of his father's rule. We do not know how long his reign extended beyond his fourth year, which is the date of a tablet found at Nippur by the American explorers. His successor was named *Sîn-šar-iškun*[3] ("Sin has installed the king"), under whose brief and dubious sovereignty Nineveh and Assyria met their predestined doom.

§ 821. It is as yet, and perhaps will always remain, impossible to reconstruct the history of the closing years of the Assyrian kingdom. We must therefore content ourselves with a general sketch of the national and racial movements by which its overthrow was so largely condi-

[1] Teile, GAB. p. 405.

[2] Published in I R. 8, nr. 3; cf. KB. II, 268 f., and III R. 16, 2. For the temple of Nebo, see vol. i, p. 411 f. Did the story of Semiramis now become popularized?

[3] The Sarakos of the Greeks, whose story has been merged in that of Asshurbanipal in the legend of "Sardanapalus."

tioned. The disintegrating work of the Kimmerians and Scythians had been done before the time of the end (§ 773, 810 ff.). No important inroads into the empire proper by the latter and more formidable invaders can have been made after 620 B.C., though the northern regions were doubtless still visited by them from time to time. Nor do we hear of any uprisings in Syria or Palestine. If the western communities had combined, even a nominal allegiance to their old oppressor might now have been safely abjured. But by this time most of them had become politically supine and indifferent, partly through the long Assyrian administration (§ 808) and also to some extent from the effects of the Scythian scourge. They were, taken as a whole, now prepared to yield their homage to the strongest representative of the Assyrio-Babylonian idea of eastern predominance, as in fact they did ere long submit to the accredited Chaldæan successor of the Ninevite over-lord. Many of them, however, had doubtless quietly or formally renounced their dependence. The Phœnician city-states were certainly now rejoicing in unaccustomed exemption from tribute. In Judah the scrupulous fidelity of Josiah would have kept him, in any case, true to his oath of allegiance. Northern Syria and Mesopotamia had long been without political life and movement apart from their Assyrian governors.

§ 822. Thus, if the growing weakness of Assyria were to become the occasion for her violent overthrow, the impulse must come from the seat of ancient Semitic supremacy, the oft-subdued but still intellectually and morally superior Babylonia, — not, however, directly from the ancient realm of Shumer and Akkad, but from the sea-land, the home of the virile and indomitable Chaldæans. The story of this extraordinary people has been told with sufficient fulness, and the reader will not be surprised to learn that they were equal to even larger occasions than those which marked the patriotic endeavours of Merodach-baladan and his heroic race. From unmistakable signs we

gather that during the last quarter of a century of the Ninevite rule a better understanding had been arrived at with the Chaldæans. Perhaps it was the consciousness of growing decrepitude which brought the successor of Asshurbanipal to perceive that it was after all best to grant a measure of self-government to all Babylonia (cf. § 825). At any rate, we find that, on the accession of the new Assyrian king in 625 B.C., Nabopalassar (*Nabū-apil-uṣur*, "Nebo protect the son!"), a Chaldæan, was made viceroy in Babylon.[1] This we may assume to have been the result of a claim formally set up by the Chaldæan chief. Of the compromise thus effected the most was made by the ambitious pretender. He was prudent enough to take one step at a time; and as the next step was to make him the heir to Nineveh itself, it behoved him to look well before he should leap.

§ 823. But Nabopalassar had need of timely as well as of cautious action. A rival claimant — the king of the Medes — at the head of a young and vigorous nationality threatened soon to be master of Nineveh and therewith of the whole Semitic realm. It was with him that Nabopalassar began that series of negotiations and combinations which ended with the subjection of Asia from the Mediterranean to the borders of India to one single ruler, who was neither a Median nor a Babylonian. The Medes were a composite nationality. We first hear of them in Assyrian history two centuries before the present crisis, under Shalmanezer II[2] and his two successors (cf. § 247 f.). Their name seems to have been long a geographical rather than an ethnical expression. At first they were not more important than the numerous neighbouring tribes of non-Aryan

[1] According to the Canon of Ptolemy he was 'king' in Babylon, but as we have seen (§ 820) Asshur-etil-ilāni was acknowledged in central Babylonia four years after that date.

[2] See Winckler, UAG. p. 109 ff.: Zur medischen und altpersichen Geschichte; also Oppert, *Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, 1878; Delattre, *Le peuple et l'empire des Mèdes*, 1883.

race, who, like them, were repeatedly coerced by the Assyrians, and as often rejected their sovereignty. Sargon carried his conquests further among them,[1] though the absolute submission of them all was never achieved by him or by any other Assyrian ruler. After his time there was little interference with them from the side of the Ninevite empire; and when once the inroads of the Kimmerians and Scythians had begun it was quite out of the question. It is difficult to settle the time of the immigration of the Aryan Medes. There are signs of their presence in suggestions of Aryan forms in the names of Median chiefs in the time of Sargon, about 715 B.C.[2] It is, then, most reasonable to assume that in the earlier half of the eighth century B.C. the Aryan element was so strong in several districts as to have assumed the leadership. At any rate, whatever may have been the original population which bore the Median name, the element which became a new combinatory controlling power was the Iranian, which in its more southerly or Persian immigration was to exhibit a faculty of organization and of government greater and more memorable still.

§ 824. Notwithstanding the illustrative material which has been gathered in recent years, we are still far from being able to make out a connected history of the early kingdom of the Medes. Even the brief list of kings supplied by Herodotus must be used with reserve. The earliest "king," Deiokes, was probably a powerful chief, who towards the end of his life was proclaimed king by the leading tribes. According to Herodotus he reigned from 699–646 B.C. There can be no doubt, at any rate, that about the middle of the seventh century B.C., the principal Median communities were united under one sovereignty, with Ekbatana (Hamadan) as the capital. If we may trust the

[1] It will be remembered that a deportation of Samarians was made by him to "cities of Media" (2 K. xvii. 6; § 362), a fact which shows that he confidently expected to completely subdue the country.

[2] See Note 3 in Appendix.

story learned by Herodotus from Persian sources, the next king, Phraortes (646–625), extended the new dominion as far as the borders of Assyria, and even presumed to attack Nineveh itself. He was, however, defeated and slain in a battle outside the walls. The year of his death coincides with the accession of Asshur-etil-ilāni (§ 820), and the tradition has at least a certain measure of confirmation, from the fact that the alleged attempt was made, according to the good old custom, at a time of transition in the government.[1] Phraortes was succeeded by his son Kyaxares. Still following the story of Herodotus, we learn that he at once renewed the war upon Assyria, and was engaged in besieging Nineveh, when he was called home by reason of an assault of Scythians upon his own capital. He was then occupied for many years in trying to rid his dominions of the intruders. Having finally disposed of them by combined valour and stratagem, he was at length in a position to take up what had now become an hereditary obligation, with the result known to all men, the capture and destruction of the world-renowned city.

§ 825. This much at least of historical truth is contained in the traditions; namely, that repeated attempts were made by the Medes to subdue Assyria before the capital was finally taken. The whole situation corresponds admirably with the general facts most commonly held as to the direct occasions of the great catastrophe. Two traditions have had currency: one from Berossus, a Babylonian, and the other from Herodotus by way of Persian informants. The former relates that it was by the combined forces of the Medes and Babylonians, that Nineveh was brought to its end; the latter gives the credit to the Medes alone. According to Berossus a league was made between Kyaxares and Nabopalassar and confirmed by the

[1] Cf. Tiele, BAG. p. 408. We may notice that the date of this attack agrees well with our assumption as to the time of the main Scythian invasion (§ 811). The later inroads were more local, and naturally fell most hardly upon the Median possessions.

marriage of the daughter of the Mede to the son of the Chaldæan, the crown-prince Nebuchadrezzar. This famous matrimonial alliance may have been anticipated by a few years in the story, but otherwise there is nothing to awaken our scruples. That Herodotus does not speak of the participation of the Chaldæans is obviously to be accounted for by the fact that the Persian account was the Median tradition, that the Medes had previously been the only aggressors, and that they moreover played the leading rôle in the final campaign.

§ 826. The motive and the progress of the action may now be outlined as follows. The appointment of Nabopalassar the Chaldæan as Assyrian viceroy (§ 822) was more than a concession to the old revolutionary party in Babylonia. It was a matter of necessity rather than of grace on the part of the enfeebled suzerain, — not that the military force at the disposal of Nabopalassar was already very formidable, but that the Assyrian guards were no longer sufficient to repress the next probable uprising. After a few years these garrisons were either withdrawn or driven out, or made Babylonian. The old Chaldæan policy of war against Assyria could, however, not be taken up safely single-handed. Nineveh was almost impregnable. Moreover, it was claimed by the Medes, and a war with them would be the certain outcome of independent action. In the old times this would be the natural order of things; but the world was growing wider (cf. § 774 f.), and its leaders were growing wiser. On the other hand, the Medes were no longer sanguine of the result of an unsupported attack upon the great fortress. They had suffered from the Scythian hordes who were still threatening them, and an ally of Chaldæan temper and steadfastness was much to be desired. But the negotiations had a view also to the future. Already the Medes had contemplated the sovereignty of the whole upland of Western Asia. The territory of Nineveh was naturally embraced within its scope. But Assyria was Semitic, like Babylonia, and

its prescriptive dominion was exercised over the lowlands from sea to sea. To this dominion the Babylonian rulers aspired by a kind of immemorial right (§ 93, 116), and they were preparing to assert their claim. Hence the compromise was proposed which, as all the world knows, was carried out after Assyria was swept out of the way. Perhaps no moment was more critical for the fate of the Semitic world, including the people and the hope of Israel, than that in which Nabopalassar decided to put his sword at the service of the Medes in the final onslaught upon the hated Assyrian.

§ 827. For the rest, we must in the mean time be contented with the knowledge that the allies succeeded in their campaign. How long the siege lasted, and what were its vicissitudes,[1] we cannot tell. Even the year of the capture is not settled beyond controversy. Assyria was still a power in 608 B.C., when Pharaoh Necho II undertook that march against Nineveh which had so strange and tragic a termination (2 K. xxiii. 29). In 605, the date of the battle of Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2), Nineveh was no more, and the heirs had disposed of the effects. Hence we must place the date either in 607 or in 606 B.C., and probably in the former year. The destruction of the city was summary and absolute. The world has not seen its like before nor since. The concentrated hatred of the long-harassed nations at last found expression. Though Medes and Chaldæans took the lead, there were found in the ranks of the besiegers warriors from far

[1] A suggestion comes from Nah. ii. 6: "The gates of the streams are opened and the palace is dissolved (with terror)." According to Diodorus (ii, 26), it was a traditional saying that Nineveh could not be taken unless the river should become the enemy of the city. It has been conjectured that the waters of the Choser, which runs southwesterly into the Tigris through Nineveh, being raised by the spring floods, and the ordinary outlets having been stopped, the whole force of the swollen stream beat upon and undermined the foundations of the inner wall of the city. See in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, III, 1, "Der Untergang Nineveh's," by A. Jeremias and Col. A. Billerbeck, p. 102 and 146 f. Cf. Rawlinson, *Five Monarchies*, ii, 397.

and near, to whom the task of vengeance was a *militia sacra*. That process of devastation undergone by hundreds of cities at the hands of the remorseless Ninevite was now reënacted upon the oppressor with formal exactness. After the sword and fire had done their work, the city was buried under débris and earth, so that its memory might vanish from among men. The obliteration was complete. All the ancient fortresses that encircled the central city from Khorsabad to Nimrud were reduced to a uniformity of desolation, so that the mound of Nineveh proper could not be distinguished from the other ruins by later generations.[1]

§ 828. And yet the last fate of the devoted capital is stranger than the first. The very means employed to consign the city to oblivion were the occasions of its now assured immortality. No new walls or temples were constructed from its colossal remains. No wandering hordes encamped among its ruins for shelter or defence. Even the slowly destroying elements of nature were excluded. And so its demolition became its preservation. Thus it stands to-day, disentombed and self-revealed, telling to alien peoples, to the ends of the earth, by its own written memorials, its solemn and weighty lessons that break through the silence of the ages like voices of doom.

§ 829. No event in the history of the nations, excepting the fall of Babylon, awakened such interest among

[1] Xenophon states (*Anab.* iii. 4, 9) that in passing close to what we now know to be the site of Nineveh, he was shown a mass of ruins which went by the name of Larissa. According to a conjecture of Nöldeke, this was the Resen of Gen. x. 12, which lay between Kalach and Nineveh. A. Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 114, says that the statement of Xenophon is "unreliable" (*unzuverlässig*). It would be more correct to say that it has been misunderstood. At all events, Xenophon does not appear to have suspected that he was beside the site of Nineveh, and this is the most significant thing in the passage. In Lucian's famous dialogue, *Charon*, Hermes says (§ 23): "O Ferryman, Nineveh has perished and not a trace of it remains, nor can any one say where it ever was." This must be understood in the same sense, and is hardly a "poetical exaggeration," as Jeremias calls it.

the Prophets of Israel as did the fate of Nineveh. To this theme one prophetical work is entirely devoted, while others take it as a leading text. The decline of Hebrew prophetism after the earlier years of Manasseh has already been alluded to (§ 800). For forty years the faith and hope of Israel found no voice among the people. But when Josiah came to his majority, the religious life, which had not been dead but only sleeping, awoke again to earnest expression. The reforms in worship which go under the name of Josiah were the outcome of this deeper movement (§ 807). But it had far wider scope and reach than could be afforded by the mere outward form of ritual. It was a long break in the line of Prophecy that was made when Micah uttered his latest message. And when the word was taken up by Zephaniah,[1] it was as a voice crying in the wilderness, true and strong as of old, but reaching out widely for companionship among the memorable voices of the past.

§ 830. Zephaniah has given us one of the most general of all prophecies. Without a somewhat close survey of contemporary affairs we might be inclined to call him vague and discursive. Our latest studies make clear to us his outlook among the nations. Since the revolt in which Manasseh was implicated (§ 801) there had been quiet in Asia, broken only by the tumultuous inroads of the Scythians. But to thoughtful observers an upheaval was impending; and the Hebrew prophet turned his eyes towards Nineveh as the scene of the great catastrophe. Hence, though he speaks primarily for Judah and Jerusalem, he points his moral also from the sins and fates of other peoples, the culmination of which is found in the

[1] It would seem remarkable that Jeremiah, who has such an open eye for the events of his time, and who began to prophesy nearly twenty years before the fall of Nineveh, does not allude to that event or its antecedent occasions. The explanation possibly is, that the prophet did not commit his discourses formally to writing till 604 B.C. (ch. xxxvi. 1 ff.), and that those which may have been delivered upon this theme were then passed over as being no longer of special relevance.

iniquitous pride and speedy fall of the Assyrian capital. The whole world, that is the Semitic world, is to undergo exemplary punishment, particularly the apostates in Jerusalem (i. 1–6). The classes of people to be thus visited are pointed out, — the royal household, the wealthy traders, the careless and defiant citizens generally, — and their chastisement is set forth in language largely figurative (i. 7–18). Then comes the lesson from the nations (ch. ii.). Unless Jehovah's own people repent in time (vs. 1–3), their fate shall be the doom that is about to fall upon the Philistines (vs. 4–7), upon Moab and Ammon (vs. 8–11), upon Egypt and Ethiopia (v. 12), and finally upon Assyria and Nineveh: "So He will stretch out His hand over the north, and shall destroy Assyria, and make Nineveh a desolation, and an arid waste like a wilderness; and herds of beasts shall lie down in her midst, every animal of (every) nation; pelicans and porcupines shall lodge among her pillars,[1] their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be on the thresholds; for he hath made bare the cedar-work. This is the exulting city that dwelt in security, that said in her heart, 'I and no one else!' How has she become a desolation, a couching-place for beasts! Every one that passeth by her shall hiss, and wave his hand" (vs. 13–15).

§ 831. It is Nahum, however, that is the chief censor of Nineveh among the Prophets of Israel. His book, written apparently about 610 B.C., is entitled, "the oracle concerning Nineveh." Its ultimate motive is still the welfare of his own and Jehovah's land; but to him this is absolutely involved in the destruction of Assyria. The decisive event is, moreover, the great tragedy of human history, so that the fate of no other nation comes under notice. The doom which was vaguely foreseen by Zephaniah, is to Nahum immediately impending. The prophecy

[1] Literally, the capitals of the pillars, an illustration of Hebrew synecdoche; compare "cedar-work," for palaces, temples, and state buildings in the same verse.

begins with a sublime theophany like that of Habakkuk, or of Micah vi., or of Isa. xxx. (§ 718), or of Ps. xviii., or of Ps. l. — an intervention of Jehovah demanded by world-wide issues (i. 1–6). The same Jehovah that is kind to those who trust to him now comes to devote his enemies to utter destruction, while Israel, relieved from the tyrant, shall welcome the messenger that brings the tidings of his fall (i. 7–15). Next comes a description of the assault upon Nineveh by terrible foes, here unnamed, but whom we may designate as Medes and Chaldæans. The desperate measures of defence, all unavailing, the capture and the spoliation, are set forth in a vivid, excited style, with ejaculations and abrupt transitions, corresponding to the actions portrayed (ch. ii.). The struggle within the walls and the dreadful carnage are the subjects of the next pen-picture, to which is appended the moral of the story (iii. 1–7). The destruction of Thebes in Egypt (§ 770) is cited as an example of what is to befall its conqueror, in spite of her defences, her wealth, and her military discipline, which only aggravate the terror of her well-deserved punishment, her desolation, and her woe (vs. 8–19).

§ 832. The description of the coming siege and the destruction of city and people is so minutely realistic and so full of local colouring, that it has been held [1] to have been written by one personally conversant with the locality. At all events, Nahum was intimately acquainted with the modes of warfare and defence employed by the Assyrians.

[1] Namely, by A. Jeremias in the essay above cited in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. The whole prophecy is there minutely treated, especially from the Assyriological standpoint, and many suggestive explanations given of special allusions in the text of the prophecy. The curious reader is also referred to the appended essay by Billerbeck on the siege, its antecedents and concomitants, the armaments, the fortifications, and the defence. An excellent analysis of the prophecy may be found in Farrar, *The Minor Prophets* (Nisbet & Co.), p. 148 ff. The main criticism to be offered to this and most other expositions is, that ii. 3–5 does not refer, as is supposed, to a contest in the street or a defeat of the defenders, but to hurried preparations for defence.

He brings before us the uniform of the soldiers and their glittering shields; the burnished chariots gleaming in their swift career (ii. 3 f.); the desperate rush to prevent a threatened breach in the walls by the erection of a "mantelet;" the opening of the river-gates by which the citadel is reached (ii. 5 f., § 827); the terrible conflict in the streets after the entrance is effected; the cracking of whips, the rattle of wheels, the plunging and rearing horses, the jolting chariots, the charging riders, the flaming swords, the glittering spears, the heaps of the wounded and dying, the unnumbered dead (iii. 2 f.). The prophet declares that the catastrophe of Nineveh is enacted for the relief of Israel. It sounds like irony. And yet who would have thought that the only account vouchsafed to later times of the siege and capture of the great city of Asshur would be a poetical sketch written beforehand in a petty subject state, nearly a thousand miles from the scene, by the servant of a rival and victorious God!

§ 833. At the close of this survey of the achievements and fate of Assyria two prophetic images rise majestically into view. They stand worthily beside Isaiah's picture of the great spoiler harrying the nations and the peoples as birds are driven from their nests (§ 292, 723). Nahum resorts to the animal kingdom, and finds the counterpart of the Assyrians in the lion, who has his den in Nineveh stored with all the prey of the lesser beasts of the forest — "the lions' lair and the feeding-place of the young lions, where strode the lion, and where was the lioness and the lion's brood" (ii. 11 f.). Ezekiel, the learned and reflective prophet, writing, moreover, twenty years after the fall of Nineveh, takes a more composed and tranquil view of the events and movements of his time. Looking back upon Assyria in her towering prominence among the nations, he chooses an image from the growth and luxuriance of the vegetable world: — "Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches and overshadowing boughs. He was lofty in stature, and his top stood out

from between his twigs. The waters made him great, and the water-depths made him tall. . . . In his boughs all the birds of heaven built their nests; beneath his foliage all the beasts of the field had their young; and in his shadow dwelt many nations. . . . The cedars in the garden of the Lord could not match him; nor did the cypresses have branches like his; nor were the plantains like him in foliage: no tree was like him for fairness in the garden of the Lord" (xxxi. 3 ff.).

APPENDIX

NOTE 1 (§ 534)

ABSOLUTE RULE IN ISRAEL

The kingly prerogative in Israel may be illustrated in some of its important aspects from the modern Mohammedan sultanate. The real character of the caliph's government is well set forth in the subjoined extract from Lord Salisbury's speech at Guildhall on November 9, 1895. Speaking of the reforms that were being pressed upon the Porte by the Powers, the Prime Minister said, among other things, according to the cable report: —

"With regard to the result of the negotiations, if the reforms were carried into effect they would give the Armenians every prospect that a nation could desire — prosperity, peace, justice, and safety to life and property. But will they be carried out? If the Sultan can be persuaded to give justice to the Armenians, it will not signify what the exact nature of the undertaking may be. If he will not heartily resolve to do justice to them, the most ingenious constitution that can be framed will not avail to protect or assist the Armenians. Only through the Sultan can any real permanent blessing be conferred on his subjects. . . . But supposing the Sultan will not give these reforms, what is to follow? The first answer I should give is, that above all treaties, all combinations of the Powers, in the nature of things, is Providence. God, if you please to put it so, has determined that persistent and constant abuse of power must lead the government which follows it to its doom; and while I readily admit that it is quite possible

that the Sultan, if he likes, can govern with justice and be persuaded, he is not exempt any more than any other potentate from the law that injustice will bring the highest on earth to ruin."

Those who would object to a comparison between the constitution of the kingdom of David and that of the Turkish empire, who confound the idealizing Mosaic economy with the actual government of Israel, as is done, for example, by the late Dr. E. C. Wines throughout his learned and elaborate work, *Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews*, may be referred generally to the later historical books of the Old Testament. Cf. § 56, 523.

NOTE 2 (§ 623)

SARGON'S FIRST BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION

SEE the discussion, with references, in Winckler, ST. II, p. xvii f. The contradiction between the scribes of Sargon and the Babylonian chronicler is complete throughout. Winckler makes out too good a case for Sargon, since the statement of the chronicle that the Elamites after the battle of Dūrilu invaded Assyria with most disastrous consequences to the latter, cannot be a pure fiction. Sargon's first Babylonian expedition was doubtless an almost utter failure.

NOTE 3 (§ 629, 823)

THE ARYAN MEDES

IT is interesting to note in connection with the mention of the Medes, that names of Indo-European origin are now beginning to appear among the northern tribes. For instance, the prince of *Umildiš*, one of the tribes of Central Armenia (east of Lake Van), was called *Bagdatta* (Annals, 55–57), plainly an Iranian proper name (= "God-given," *Theodotos*, etc.). As his brother's name Ullusunu is non-Aryan, it is fair to assume that a Median protectorate of some sort had been exercised over the district, and a native prefect appointed with a change of name to denote his new service. In the same way we find

the Assyrian name *Belshazzar* (*Bel-šar-usur*) as that of a ruler in Northern Media, subdued by Sargon, whose domain had been made tributary by Tiglathpileser III (Winckler, ST. II, p. xxiii, note). The hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that an Assyrian governor in the same region of Manna, who revolted against Sargon (Annals, 76, 77), bore the familiar Median name *Dayakku* (*Deiokes*, § 824).

NOTE 4 (§ 633)

THE SIEGE OF ASHDOD

THE expedition to Ashdod is very fully described in Sargon's Inscriptions. See Annals, 215–228; the great synoptic Inscription, 90–112 (Winckler, ST. I, pl. 33 f.); the Ashdod Inscription (Winckler, pl. 44, 45; cf. Smith, AD., p. 288 ff.). The last named is the fullest document, but it is unfortunately broken and incomplete, though it supplies us with some important details. It dates the expedition in the ninth year of Sargon, but as the Annals put it in the eleventh, Schrader (KAT. 401) rightly conjectures that the reckoning in the former case is made from the eponymate of the king, which took place two years after his accession (cf. § 358, 360), according to established custom.

I append a translation from the Annals: "Azuri, the king of Ashdod (As-du-di), had made up his mind not to pay tribute, and had sent to the kings round about seditious proposals against Assyria, and on account of the evil he had committed I had put an end to his rule, and installed as their king Aḫimiti, his full brother. The Hettites, plotting insurrection, rebelled against his rule, and exalted over themselves a (certain) Yatna, who was not of the royal house, and like-minded with them knew no reverence for the kingly authority. In the wrath of my soul, with chariots of my body-guard (lit. of my feet), and horsemen who do not quit my immediate presence (lit. do not fail from the place of the inclining of my hands), I marched rapidly to Ashdod, the city which he ruled. Ashdod, Gath, and Asdudimmu, I besieged and took. Of the gods who had their dwelling there, of himself, with the people of his

land, gold, silver, the treasures of his palace, I made spoil. Their cities I occupied anew, and settled in them people from the lands which I had conquered. My viceroys I set as administrators over them. I reckoned them as of the people of Assyria, and they came under my yoke."

The synoptic Inscription adds (lines 101 ff.) details subsequent to the Assyrian march: "But Yamani heard from afar of the coming of my expedition, and fled to the borders of Egypt, within the limits of Melūcha (§ 96), and it was not found out where he was. . . . The king of Melūcha who [dwelt] in an obscure [out of] the way region, whose fathers since remote days, the time of the Moon-god (cf. Ps. lxxii. 5), had sent no ambassadors (riders) to the kings my fathers to ask for a treaty of peace, heard afar of the might of Asshur, Nebo, and Merodach; fear of the splendour of my royalty overspread him, and terror was shed forth upon him; he threw him into chains, and fetters and bonds of iron, and they brought him to Assyria into my presence."

The Ashdod Inscription tells of defences made by the usurper, and of his canals made for water supply, which Smith compares with the similar work undertaken by Hezekiah about the same time (2 Chr. xxxii. 3 f.). Its most important statement, however, which immediately follows this, refers to the part taken in the revolt by other principalities in Palestine. As the passage has not been quite correctly understood, I give a rendering of the text (Winckler, pl. 44 D. lines 25–33): —

"[The kings] of Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab, dwellers by the sea, payers of tribute and gifts to Asshur, my lord, plotters of sedition, did not refrain from mischief, for in order to stir up rebellion against me they brought gifts of friendship to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, a prince who was no saviour to them, and sued with him for an alliance." — For *mēnu* (line 29) in the sense of "restraining, withholding," cf. the vexed line V R. 1, 122.

The above interesting extracts suggest one or two remarks. The "Hettites" mentioned in the Annals are the people of Ashdod of Palestinian origin, as distinguished from the Grecian immigrants that had settled in Philistia, and who now formed an influential class in Ashdod. One of these was the

Yatna of the Annals, the Yamani of the synoptic and of the Ashdod Inscription (line 15), who in the last-named passage is also called "a soldier." These names are in this case appellative surnames like the English proper name "French" when first employed. The former name (= "Cyprian") implies that he came from Cyprus (Assyr. Yatnan), and the latter (= יָוָן) that he was of Ionian race. These phrases indicate that the Greek adventurers, who as pirates, kidnappers, and slave-dealers (cf. Joel iii. 6; Zech. ix. 13), had for centuries been harrying the Mediterranean coast as far as Egypt, now had an actual settlement in Ashdod and its vicinity, and were aspiring to a leading place. We could not wish for a better explanation than this fact affords of a passage written a few years before (§ 315): "And a spurious race (LXX ἀλλογενής) shall have its seat in Ashdod, and I will cut off the pride of the Philistines" (Zech. ix. 6).

Sargon in all these accounts says conventionally that he himself led his chosen troops to the West-land. The express testimony of Isa. xx. 1, to the effect that it was his general who led the corps against Ashdod, shows how his statement is to be interpreted, and reminds us that a great proportion of the triumphs of the Assyrian kings were won by the generals to whom they rarely give the credit that is their due (cf. § 57).

The words applied to the Ethiopian king of Egypt by the scribe of Sargon, "no saviour to them," remind one of the sarcastic language of the Rabshakeh, 2 K. xviii. 21, and concisely expresses contemporary Assyrian opinion as to the value of Egyptian alliances to the helpless people of Palestine. The "Pharaoh" alluded to is probably Sabataka, who had already rendered a kind of homage to Assyria (§ 630, 632).

NOTE 5 (§ 633)

SARGON AND JUDAH

Besides this reference to Judah, there is but one other to be found in the numerous inscriptions of Sargon. In the so-called Nimrud Inscription (ST. pl. 48), in a list of self-exalting epithets based on his achievements, occurs the phrase (line 8):

mu-šak-niš mât Ya-u-du ša a-šar-šu ru-u-ḳu: "The subjugator of the land of Judah whose situation is remote." This expression has been much drawn upon in support of the hypothesis of a systematic invasion of Judah; so, for example, by Cheyne, in his *Prophecies of Isaiah* (but virtually disavowed in his *Introduction to Isaiah*, 1895, p. 121), and by Sayce in his *Life and Times of Isaiah* (where on p. 55 the phrase is twice mistranslated). But it has been pointed out (Winckler, ST. I, p. xvii, cf. p. vi, note 2) that this inscription found at Nimrud must have been composed several years before 711, the date of the supposed invasion, since no event occurring later than 716 is mentioned in it. To those familiar with the style and contents of the historical inscriptions, this consideration will be conclusive. What, then, can be the application of the words? There are two possible explanations. It may be supposed that Sargon was claiming for himself more than the words literally imply, that he speaks of himself as "subduing" the country when he had only received its formal subjection with or without a display of force. Or it may be conjectured (as by Winckler, *l.c.*) that he uses "Judah" by a curious inaccuracy for Israel, or the "Land of Omri," and therefore refers to the catastrophe of 722–1. I am inclined to press the former alternative, and to assume that the "subjugation," so-called, was effected in 720. In this critical year, when insurrection was rife throughout Syria and Palestine (see § 624 f.), it seemed necessary to put Judah under bonds to keep the peace, even if it had no intention of breaking it. Its relations to the Philistines alone (§ 268), who were immediately concerned in the outbreak, would make this of essential consequence. It was doubtless in this year that the allegiance sworn to Tiglathpileser III was formally renewed to Sargon.

NOTE 6 (§ 638)

BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS

I SHALL not trouble my readers with a detailed discussion of the chronological problems which present themselves in connection with the era of Hezekiah, and which have given rise

to unlimited speculation and controversy. The simple plan which I have adopted of following a single main guiding thread downward to the end, ought to be justified by the results if the Biblical figures are right. By taking the lengths of the several reigns from the ascertained date of the accession of Ahaz onward, we should reach the correct date for the captivity of Zedekiah (§ 586), the goal of the whole investigation. It will be in place here to make a general reference to the methods of timing events and marking the length of reigns among the ancient Hebrews. Without clear notions on these matters, it is impossible to understand either a date or a synchronism in the Old Testament, or to reckon up periods of time. As there was no fixed era among the Hebrews, it was necessary to date from some well-known event. At first, and for long, it would seem that some striking widely known occurrence (*e.g.* an earthquake, Am. i. 1) was chosen; but from about the time of Ahaz, and perhaps through Assyrio-Babylonian influence, the accession of the reigning king was used as the point of departure, just as is still the case with parliamentary statutes in England and her colonies. It has been supposed that the Jews, like the Assyrians, reckoned the first regnal year, not from the day of the accession, but from the beginning of the next civil year, that is, the first of Nisan following; in other words, the regnal years were dislocated, and conformed, for purposes of convenience, to the civil years. The interval which formed the actual beginning of the reign was included in the "last year" of the preceding king, whose name would already have appeared upon documents dated earlier in that portion of the current year preceding his death. It is altogether probable that this method was followed by the editors of the historical books in their arrangement of their materials. The Talmud (Rosh hashāna 2*a*) states that the reigns of kings began with Nisan. Such a system, when universally understood, would produce no confusion in matters of dating, and there was a necessity of conforming the regnal to the civil year, because, as Stade puts it (GVI. I, 99, note), one could not always keep in mind the exact month in which the reigning king came to the throne.

The other matter, which is now our more immediate concern, is the principle followed in reckoning the duration of the

several reigns. Here two customs might be followed. Inasmuch as the years of any given reign were a matter of record in state documents and elsewhere, they might be simply noted in the chronicles as fixing the lengths of the several reigns. The data thus drawn upon would usually not furnish an absolutely exact indication, — a thing which as a rule was not attempted. An accurate statement had to be given when the king reigned only a fraction of a year; but as soon as he reached the beginning of the next civil year he entered upon the "first year" of his reign. If he died at any time during that civil year, he would be said to have reigned one year, though it might be several months more or less than a full year, and so on, up to any number of years. Thus Zedekiah was dethroned in his eleventh year (2 K. xxv. 2) four months after Nisan, and is said to have reigned eleven years (2 K. xxiv. 18). The Babylonian Chronicle is, it may be remarked, much more exact. But there is another possible method which was perhaps usually employed. The portion of the reign intervening between the accession and the following Nisan might also be reckoned separately as a year. Thus, for example, a reign including one full civil year and a fraction of a year at each end might be roughly set down as lasting three years, just as the interval from Friday evening to Sunday morning was reckoned as three days. So even the Assyrian Sargon calls the interval B.C. 721–710 "twelve years" (Annals, 235 f.). In *dating*, it would manifestly be impracticable to count the portion preceding the first Nisan as belonging to the current reign, for then in one civil year there would be two forms of dating, one referring to the deceased, and the other to the reigning king. But the shortening of the beginning of the reign, thus made legally necessary, was known to be a conventional fiction and would naturally be disregarded when a considerable fraction of a year intervened before the constructive commencement. If this was the usual procedure, it would be right in our reckonings ordinarily to deduct a full year from the number of years assigned to each alternate reign at least. It is upon the assumption that this method of reckoning the duration of reigns was usually followed that I shall attempt to divide the period between Ahaz and the fall of Jerusalem (586)

according to the Biblical data, which are in these matters surely correct. Upon no other hypothesis can all the recorded numbers for the lengths of the reigns be explained.

The most notable of the recent contributions to the chronological question have been made by the following: H. Brandes, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients im Alterthum*, 1874; Wellhausen, in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1875, p. 607–640; W. R. Smith, in *Prophets*, p. 413 ff.; Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige*, 1883; Stade, in GVI. I, 88 ff.; Davis, "Chronology of the Divided Kingdom," *Presb. and Ref. Review*, Jan. 1891. Most recent critics seem to favour 715 as the date of Hezekiah's accession, though many still prefer 727. Between these two the former should have the preference, mainly because his years and those of his successors, taken with no deduction, fill up exactly the time intervening until the fall of Jerusalem. But neither of the dates accounts for the embassy of Merodach-Baladan or the sixteen years assigned to the reign of Ahaz.

NOTE 7 (§ 640)

THE ALTAR AT DAMASCUS

MAX DUNCKER perceived justly that this altar was associated with Assyrian worship (*History of Antiquity*, Engl. tr. 1879, vol. iii, p. 78); and he is wrongly criticised by Stade (GVI. I, p. 598), who maintains that it was "the altar of Rezon, the chief altar of Damascus," and that the ground of the change made by Ahaz was merely that the pattern pleased him better. The "chief altar of Damascus," if the phrase can be used at all, was now, however, devoted for a time at least to the gods of Assyria. Damascus had just been politically obliterated, and it was a part of the process by which it was made an Assyrian province that the gods of Assyria should be introduced into the old temples. Such a procedure is stated by the Assyrian kings, over and over again, as having been employed by them after the conquest of rebellious cities. Whatever remained of the Syrian cultus after the destruction and transformation described in 2 K. xvi. 9, was, we may be

sure, degraded and kept well in the background during the occupation of Damascus by Tiglathpileser. The altar, being thus devoted to the uses of Assyrian worship, was acceptable to the timid and superstitious subject prince. It was for this reason that "the pattern pleased him better" than the altar of the depreciated God of Israel. Just as the changes which he introduced in the arrangements and furniture of the temple are expressly said (v. 18) to have been made "because of (מִפְּנֵי) the king of Assyria," so without doubt the whole spirit and method of the national worship were modified in deference to the majesty of the all-conquering gods of the new rulers of the West-land.

NOTE 8 (§ 644)

DATE OF MICAH I.–III.

As is well known, it is impossible to fix with absolute certainty the time of every individual utterance of Micah, or even to define the limits of each discourse, for the reason that we have his prophecies in a condensed form, edited some time after they were spoken, and then grouped around two or three leading motives. In spite of the many ingenious arguments that have been brought forward in favour of a dual or even a triple authorship, I see no sufficient reason for abandoning absolutely the hypothesis of an original unity (cf. § 595, note). The common division of the book into three sections is the best: ch. i.–iii.; iv., v.; vi., vii.

According to Jer. xxvi. 18, Micah flourished in the days of Hezekiah; and ch. iii. 12, which is there quoted, would seem therefore to belong to his reign. The statement referred to necessarily means only that the greater portion of his prophetic career was passed under Hezekiah. Chapter i., which has been synchronized and harmonized with Isa. xxviii., on account of its reference to the impending ruin of Samaria (B.C. 722–21), was apparently written towards the end of the reign of Ahaz; cf. § 638 and the heading i. 1, which presumably did not come from Micah himself, but represented a fairly reliable tradition. On account of the lack of data for deter-

mining the precise time of ch. ii., iii., it is convenient, on account of their general contents, to refer to them as representing in general the same period, which of course includes the earlier years of Hezekiah.

NOTE 9 (§ 673)

INSCRIPTIONS OF SINACHERIB

THE monuments relating to Sinacherib, though fairly abundant, are not so extensive as the inscriptions of several other Assyrian kings. The principal document is the cylinder, or rather six-sided prism, published in I R. 37–42, which was discovered in Kuyunjik in 1830 by J. E. Taylor, British Vice-Consul at Bassora, and is now in the British Museum. This describes the events of the first eleven years of his reign in the order of his expeditions or campaigns. The section relating to the Palestinian expedition has been frequently translated and commented on, and is the best known portion of the whole Assyrian historical literature. A briefer edition of the same, found in Kuyunjik and now in Constantinople, contains, as a memorial tablet, an addition relating to one of Sinacherib's palaces in Nineveh. It is published in I R. 43, 44. An inscription upon the Bulls of Kuyunjik (III R. 12, 13) gives a few additional facts. We must add the so-called Grotefend or Bellino Cylinder, published in Lay. 63 f., which goes no further than the second campaign; also the remarkable inscription discovered at Bavian, northeast of Nineveh, which describes the construction and dedication of a canal for the water-supply of the capital. It narrates also the last Babylonian campaign, and gives the important information that four hundred and eighteen years had elapsed between Tiglathpileser I and the date of the inscription. All of the inscriptions have been translated in RP.; the Taylor Cylinder, with extracts from the others, in KB. I R. 37–42 has also been transcribed and translated by R. Hörnung (Leipzig, 1878). G. Smith's *History of Sennacherib* (1878), ed. by Sayce, has the available records in the original texts, in historical order, transcribed and translated.

Since the inscriptions of Sinacherib do not distinguish events

directly by the proper years of his reign, some important occurrences cannot with certainty be supplied with exact dates. There is no space for a discussion of the various cases, and in the text I have for the most part contented myself with giving the most probable indications of time. Very important help is afforded by the Bab. Chr., col. II, III, especially in what relates to Babylonian affairs and their dates.

NOTE 10 (§ 683)

SINACHERIB AND THE SIEGE OF TYRE

THIS scheme of harmonizing the two accounts is substantially that adopted by Meyer (GA. § 357, 383), Hommel (GBA. p. 676, 704 f.), and Winckler (GBA. p. 251 f.) after Smith (*History of Sennacherib*, p. 69). Special points in which the constructions above made differ from one or another of these authorities it is unnecessary to specify. The opinion that Josephus is right in regarding Shalmaneser as the Assyrian king in question is still maintained by Tiele (BAG. p. 223, 237 f.). A minor difficulty not yet solved on either of the hypotheses, arises from the fact that Menander makes Elulæus to have reigned thirty-six years over the Tyrians, while Tiglathpileser III names Hirom as king of Tyre in 738 (§ 310) and Metenna in 729. For possible solutions, see Schrader, KGF. p. 49 ff.

NOTE 11 (§ 688)

THE SUBMISSION OF HEZEKIAH

THE old expositors are, after all, right in insisting that Hezekiah must have "sinned" in refusing to pay the stipulated tribute to Sinacherib; but his conscientiousness was not so great as they suppose, since his conception of "sinning" in this case was quite different from theirs. Hezekiah here uses the phraseology which was regularly employed by the Assyrian suzerain of all those who rebelled against his authority (§ 290). Compare, for instance, Sinacherib's description of the insurgents in Ekron (§ 675, col. III, 2), where the word

for sin (*ḫiṭṭu*) is the exact equivalent of Hebrew חֵטְא. — The current rendering of אֶשָּׂא (v. 14 *a*), "I shall bear," is quite unsuitable, for it was of no consequence to Sinacherib whether Hezekiah would bear the additional burden or not. It moreover ignores the usage of נשׂא in the sense of raising, bringing, contributing, as in 2 S. xix. 43. Driver's remark on this passage (*Notes on Samuel*, p. 260, note) to the effect that נָשָׂא nowhere means "gave," misses the point of connection between the primary and the derived meanings of the root. It moreover leaves out of reckoning the derivatives משׂא and משׂאת "contribution, present"; cf. מַס "tribute" and "tributary" derived from נסס "to raise," and the Aram. אסק (see the Targ. of 1 K. v. 28 (13) and Josh. xvii. 3), meaning "contribute," also the Assyr. *biltu* "tribute" from *abālu* "carry."

As to the amount of the fine paid by Hezekiah, it has been conjectured that the Hebrew and Phœnician silver talent stood in value to the Babylonian in the proportion of eight to three. Hence the statement of Sinacherib (col. III, 34) that he took eight hundred talents of silver from Hezekiah, would agree with 2 K. xviii. 14. So J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, 1866, p. 98. The agreement as to the number of gold talents renders this probable, but direct proof has not yet been offered.

NOTE 12 (§ 690)

THE CAPTURE OF LACHISH

This sculpture is preserved in the Basement Room of the British Museum. It is one of the most instructive of this whole class of monuments. The photograph published by the Museum is very clear. It is reproduced in Stade, GVI. I. p. 620, and in Ragozin's *History of Assyria*.

The accompanying inscription is published I R. 7, Nr. VIII. I. It reads:

"Sinacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, took his seat on his movable (lit. set up) throne, and the captives of Lachish came forward into his presence."

NOTE 13 (§ 707)

THE PLAGUE IN SINACHERIB'S ARMY

As the words stand, it is impossible to read 5180 as the number of the dead. But neither is it in accordance with classical Hebrew usage to write 185000 in the form which the present text offers. I believe there is no other instance in the Old Testament, in which hundreds (or a hundred) of thousands with tens of thousands is expressed without the word for thousand being used twice. Cf. Numb. ii. 9, 16, 24, 31; xxvi. 51. Why is it used here only once? If the hundreds and thousands are transposed, 5180 will result.

For the ravages of disease at night compare Ps. xci. 5 f. Homer (*Iliad*, I. 37) makes Apollo as the pest-god descend "like the night" upon the Grecian camp. It is interesting also to notice that the name of Apollo as the plague-dealer is Smintheus, the mouse-god, and that he received his name among the Teucrians, because by means of field-mice he indicated to them, when they had emigrated from Crete and landed in Asia Minor, the spot where they were to settle. When they encamped for the night, a large number of these animals gnawed their baggage-straps and the thongs of their shields. Now the oracle had told them that they should make their home in the place where they should be attacked by the original inhabitants of the country, and in acknowledgment of this direction they gave Apollo the name in question. It is further significant that the rat, the symbol of pestilence, is also an emblem of night. On the Egyptian plague in Palestine, see G. A. Smith, H G. p. 157 ff.

NOTE 14 (§ 709)

COURSE OF THE INVASION OF SINACHERIB

THE foregoing sketch of Sinacherib's expedition differs in some important points from those made by my predecessors. A principal misconception as to the time of the invasion of Judah and the siege of Jerusalem has, apparently, been due to

the supposition that Sinacherib's account is held to narrate the events in strict chronological order. But even a cursory reading makes it obvious that his report deals with and disposes of the several disaffected states in turn. The reason why, for example, the attack on Jerusalem is mentioned late, is because the affair with Judah was protracted, though this is not indicated in the Inscriptions. Between the beginning and the ending of it, several other events might intervene. As a matter of fact, it is apparent that the siege of Jerusalem, which was suspended on the submission of Hezekiah, must have taken place before the conquest of Ekron. Sinacherib could not have reimposed Padī, as king, upon that city, unless he had been delivered up by Hezekiah upon constraint. A monarch who would not submit till he had lost half his kingdom and subjects, would not have assisted his enemies by surrendering their ally without compulsion (against Stade, GVI. I. p. 619; Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 73).

Moreover, since it was clearly Sinacherib's policy to attack the rebel communities simultaneously, there was no reason why he should put off the invasion of Judah, the leading insurgent state, till he could approach it from the southwest (Driver), when there was an equally good opportunity of entering it from the northwest. As to the actual route chosen, though it is impossible to determine it exactly, it seems likely enough that the main body divided on the coast road opposite Samaria. The interior expedition, passing that Assyrianized city, and perhaps drawing recruits from it, would then have marched due south to Bethel, and thence through Michmash, and so on, according to the expectation of Isa. x.

Another misconception, based on a superficial view of the cuneiform reports, has prevailed with regard to the place occupied by Egypt in the plans and movements of Sinacherib. At the first glance this seems insignificant enough; so that Wellhausen has a certain measure of right in alleging (in Bleek's *Einleitung*, p. 256) that the battle of Elteke formed only an episode in the siege of Ekron. If the documents had been based on despatches, or on the field reports of the officers, their present form would have to be taken as a fair representation of the aims and actual achievements of the expedition.

But they are merely a commemorative rehearsal of the brilliant deeds of the Great King, and they were drawn out after the return from the campaign when it was important for imperial purposes that the whole affair should be treated, not from the standpoint of the king's designs before the march from Nineveh, but from that of the situation of affairs at its close. Hence, in this case, Sinacherib, being foiled in his great ultimate plan of crushing Egypt, mentions his encounter with the troops of that country only incidentally, even though it ended favourably to himself.

With regard to what concerns us more nearly, — the Judaite account as compared with the Assyrian, — it is necessary to add a word or two of special comment. The account in Kings is divided into three sections: 2 K. xviii. 13–16; xviii. 17–xix. 7; xix. 8–35. The conclusions reached by recent criticism as to the composition of the whole narrative seem to the present writer to be of secondary importance for historical purposes. It may be that the first of these sections comes from a different source from that of the other two. The main point is the credibility of the passages in question, and it is comforting to find that Stade, who treats somewhat gingerly the whole Biblical account, concedes the accuracy of the essential statements in all three portions of the narrative (GVI. I, 621). One undesigned evidence of historical accuracy is too striking to be passed over by any well-informed critic, the information (2 K. xviii. 14, cf. xix. 8) that Sinacherib had his headquarters at Lachish (§ 690). But the most conclusive proof of the general reliability of the large portion which Stade calls "legendary," is the verisimilitude of the arguments used by the Rabshakeh. These could not have been framed in a later age. Historical imagination was not the province of Hebrew literary genius; and the political conditions implied in the discourse are so truly representative of the Assyrian empire in its prime, and of that alone, that they are perhaps our chief source, outside of the Inscriptions themselves, for information as to the inner working of the military policy of the Ninevite rulers towards subjugated peoples.

The Biblical account is admittedly incomplete, especially in there being no mention in the section 2 K. xviii. 13–16 that

Jerusalem had actually been besieged. But we must not take this as seriously as Stade does, who charges that "the legends are in error in supposing that there was no siege of Jerusalem at all." In the first place, omission in a meagre extract is no proof of ignorance; nor does the pledge given by Isaiah (xix. 32 f.), that the king of Assyria should not undertake siege operations, prove that the narrator supposed that no siege had preceded. In the second place, we must not take Sinacherib's account of the siege too literally. Having nothing to boast about in the final outcome of his relations with Judah and Egypt, he not only keeps silence about all the events that followed the submission of Hezekiah, but he tries to make as much capital as possible out of that achievement. Just as he invents the deportation of Hezekiah's "daughters and the women of his harem" (col. III, 38 f.), so he makes a great flourish about his investment of Jerusalem. Closely examined, it will appear that he only really means that the city was blockaded.

A final remark should be made in connection with the part taken by Egypt. 2 K. xix. 9 seems to imply that Tirhaka, the Ethiopian head king of that country, was the leader who confronted Sinacherib at the battle of Elteke. The Assyrian account, on the other hand, merely refers to the king of Egypt without naming him. Herodotus, again, gives the name Sethon (§ 705) to the king of Egypt to whom the divine interference was vouchsafed. In all probability it was the same ruler that was in command on both occasions, and it seems unlikely that this was Tirhaka. It is, indeed, not absolutely certain that he had succeeded to the over-lordship of Egypt at the date of these occurrences.

NOTE 15 (§ 715)

ISAIAH XXX. 7

THE words רהב הם שבת are undoubtedly wrong as they stand. No Hebrew would use such an eccentric combination to express any of the ideas which translators have extracted from them. If רהב is a synonym for Egypt, as in ch. li. 9, Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10, the preceding phrase, "I have called

her," implies that the remainder of the expression is an epithet descriptive of Egypt, such as would naturally be introduced by the article. If ה is the article required, we must draw the two words together and read המשבת, literally "the שבת maker"; *i.e.* either "the one who (in others) causes inaction," or "the one whose working results in inaction." If this is not the reading, the text must be not only in disorder, but corrupt.

NOTE 16 (§ 746)

INSCRIPTIONS OF ESARHADDON

CONSIDERING the shortness of the reign of Esarhaddon, his monuments are fairly abundant. The most important is the six-sided cylinder found in two copies (known as A and C) and published in Layard 20–27, I R. 45–47, and in Abel and Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte* 22–24. Next comes another hexagonal inscription of the year 673, in Lay. 54–58, III R. 15, 16, and Abel and Winckler 25, 26. This is known as Cylinder B or the Broken Cylinder. Then we have the so-called Black Stone inscription in archaic characters, I R. 49, 50, which describes the rebuilding of Babylon. A fine monolith was found in 1891 during the German excavations in Sinjirli (§ 757), bearing inscriptions relative to the campaign in Egypt, besides elaborately sculptured representations of the Great King receiving the homage of his vassals. Other sources of information, including fragments of inscriptions, are detailed in Tiele, BAG. 342. E. A. Budge has collected and translated (not very correctly) the larger and smaller inscriptions in his *History of Esarhaddon*, 1880. Cylinder A is well translated by R. F. Harper in his Leipzig doctor-dissertation, New Haven, 1888. He also helped (*Hebraica*, vol. iii) to amend the text of the Esarhaddon documents. Translations are given in RP. and (by Abel and Winckler) in KB. II. In these texts we observe a more ornate style of description and narration, a tendency further developed in those of his successor. Possibly the influence of Babylonian culture is here discernible. For the chronological data of the reign and important general notices we are indebted to Bab. Chr. III, 38–IV, 32.

NOTE 17 (§ 763)

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASSHURBANIPAL

We are fairly well informed as to the events of rather more than the first half of the reign of Asshurbanipal. Of the first importance are three great cylinders: the two-sided Cyl. A published in III R. 17–26; the eight-sided Cyl. B in III R. 30–34, and the ten-sided Cyl. R^m 1, discovered by Rassam and published in V R. 1–10, which runs most nearly parallel to Cyl. A. These texts are full and complete, but dates are not given, so that we are scantily informed as to the relation and time of many events. Besides, the Eponym Canons are here scarcely at all available. These records along with minor documents accessible up to the date were published in a separate volume by G. Smith, *History of Asshurbanipal*, 1871, with transcription and translation. S. A. Smith's *Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, Leipzig, 1887–9, contains in its three parts besides R^m 1, many letters, despatches, and other documents transcribed and translated with remarks. Translations are also given of the principal inscriptions in RP. The best transcription and translation so far published are those by Jensen in KB. II, 152–269, where R^m 1 is given in full along with supplementary extracts from the other cylinders.

Inscriptions have also been found of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, the "disloyal brother," viceroy in Babylon. One of them, a "bilingual," appears in V R. 62. This and others have been published with transcription and commentary, by Lehmann, *Šamaš-šum-ukīn König von Babylonien* (1892), following his briefer doctor-dissertation on the same subject of 1886. See also the transcription and translation by Jensen, in KB. III, 1, p. 194–207.

END OF VOL. II.